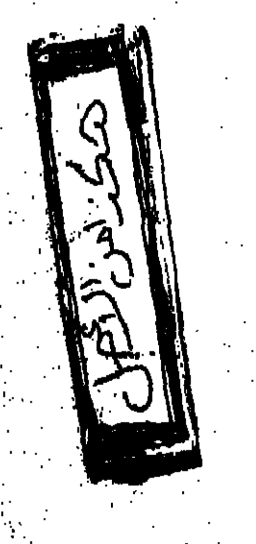


The German Tribune

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Nato keeps a firm eye on Poland



Nato's interest in what is happening in Poland is far keener than it admits.

It is adopting a low profile because it does not want hotheads sensing any agitation and urging action.

When the alliance's council held a special meeting in mid-December, the secretary-general, Mr Joseph Luns, of the Netherlands, chose his words very carefully.

He avoided saying anything that might have betrayed nervousness.

There was nothing that Nato could do, in such a delicate situation.

It was obliged to tread carefully to avoid triggering massive intervention in Poland by the Soviet Union.

All it could do was wait and see, so as to be able to respond appropriately when the need arose.

Over the past year Nato has carefully checked what it can do in its members's best interest.

Politics being the art of the possible and strategy a *system* of stopgap measures, economic sanctions will probably predominate.

Military operations should be limited to endeavours to reinforce safeguards for Nato territory and to *improve reconnaissance* of enemy terrain.

None of *the options available within* the framework of crisis management of this kind could be deployed automatically, as though by pushbutton pressure.

Each would have to be begun and controlled by deliberate decisions to ensure that the Nato countries retain control over the process.

Nato abides by the principle of non-intervention, a political decision by the West that obliges member-countries to observe self-discipline in word and deed.

At the same time it presupposes that the Soviet Union exercises restraint and does not embark on military oppression of neighbouring Poland.

An assessment of the situation based on this policy takes the following considerations into account:

First, if the Soviet Union were to order *the Red Army, including its troops* already in Poland, to come to Warsaw's fraternal assistance and invade the country, all prospects of a limited observation of human rights would be dashed for some time in Eastern Europe.

Alongside the political repercussions of such a change the military risk Western Europe ran would increase proportionately.

Second, the tension that arose would nip in the bud any attempt to promote detente and lead to the inevitable breakdown *of talks in Vienna, Madrid and* Geneva.

These talks, dealing partly with limitation of nuclear weapons and conventional forces, partly with East-West confidence-building measures, could not be resumed at the drop of a hat.

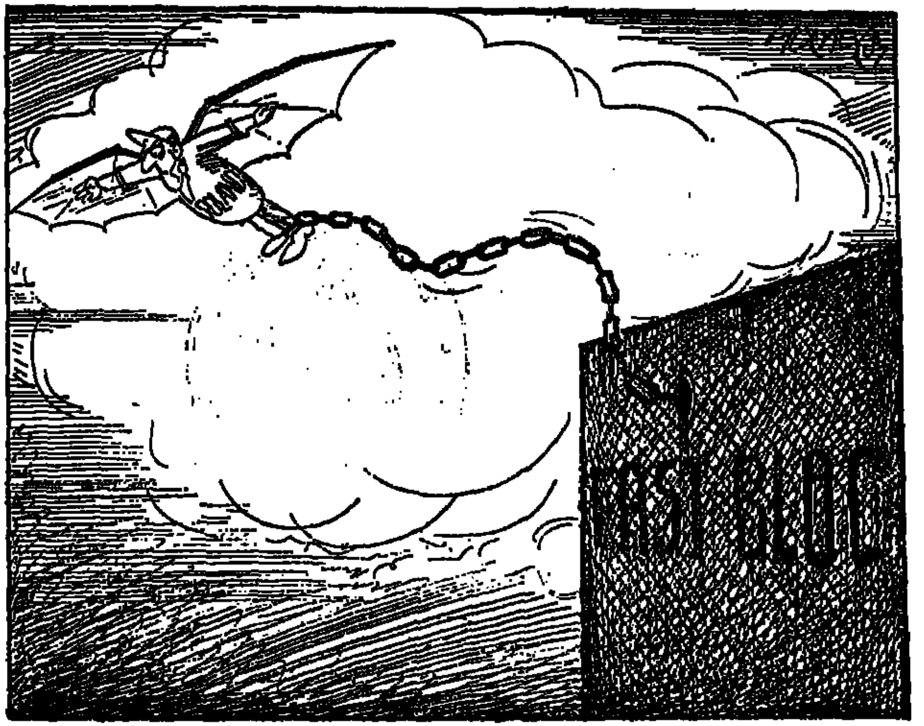
Third, the Soviet Union would, by using brute force and bloodshed to subdue Poland, demonstrate such political weakness as possibly to force it, sooner or later, to seek compensation elsewhere.

Moscow might, in other words, feel obliged to deploy its military might further away from its sphere of influence in Europe.

Africa and Asia are likely targets, given that Soviet maritime expansion is already heading in their direction.

This possible future prospect was at the back of Nato's collective mind when, in mid-December, it reviewed first events in the Middle East, then, a close second, developments in Poland.

It was *no coincidence* that Nato Ministers were handed a report on Soviet capacity to flex military muscle in the pursuit of political power.



(Cartoon: Hanel/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

The report was a thorough survey, detailing not only the Kremlin's naval expansion but also its airlift and amphibious potential.

The East bloc's power projection potential in the Third World is why *America is so keen to set up its rapid* deployment force.

Washington would like not only to accelerate deployment of this mobile corps but also to ensure transit, realy and logistical facilities for it.

In this context the provocative and obstructive attitude taken by the new Greek government in resurrecting its old *disputes with neighbouring* Turkey was particularly unwelcome.

Whenever one Nato country, motivated by domestic political requirements, threatens to become unpredictable it jeopardises the foreign policy interests of its allies, which call for cohesion.

Mr Papandreou may have been hailed back home as the winner in Brussels, but in the long run he seems sure to be the loser in his bid to force Nato's hand.

What he wants is to have shelved the arrangements for the Aegean command that General Rogers carefully pieced together a year ago.

The United States is not unduly interested in Greek ambitions, whereas it is in close contact with Turkey, which undeniably has outstanding strategic importance.

Turkey is a cornerstone of Nato between *the Straits and the Caucasus*, it is a terrain from which nuclear agreements *between the superpowers can be monitored* and it is an operational area of *importance in connection with the Gulf.*

Thus the fate of Poland is of importance for Nato policy and strategy not just for its own sake.

It forms part of a network of developments extending far beyond the more immediate context of Europe and determining the course of East-West ties.

Wolfram von Raven

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 18 December 1981)

IN THIS ISSUE

Poles stand alone in their conflict

The certainty about Poland is that the Poles must be left to their fate. We have no other choice.

The uncertainty is predicting what will happen. Assessments must be made with not very much to go on: sparse news items and unconfirmed rumour.

The armed forces seem to have the situation under control. The use of force *seems to have been kept within limits.* Poland seems to have been spared the *misery of bloodshed and civil war.*

What can be attempted is a reappraisal of the *historical circumstances that* have determined Poland's destiny since the Second World War.

This is the only way in which to avoid losing sight of political yardsticks that are the more urgently needed at times of crisis the more emotions are in uproar.

An apparently cool and detached approach *is anything but couldn't-care-less;* it is absolutely indispensable as a basis *for the political responsibility we share* for Poland.

Let us first recall the historical background against which Poland's destiny must be seen. Its fate was sealed at Yalta in February 1945.

There, in the Crimea, the Allies *sought to lay the foundations for peace* in Europe after the defeat of Hitler. Stalin, Churchill and *Roosevelt* were the men who made the decisions.

In a nutshell, what they decided amounted to a division of war-torn Europe, with each of the superpowers ensuring for themselves a sphere of influence.

This led to the creation of a new front, foreseen by Churchill, with political, economic, military and ideological *systems represented* by Nato and the Warsaw Pact facing each other.

In sharing the spoils the two sides made sure of a clear borderline between them as soon as the Cold War began, which was almost immediately.

There have since been uprisings in Berlin, Budapest and Prague — bids by East bloc countries to wrest freedom from the Kremlin's yoke. Emotions have been highly charged.

Yet *the West has invariably stood* by the terms of the Yalta Agreement and

Continued on page 4

■ EUROPE

Perception problems as ethereal issue of union is promoted again

Frankfurter Allgemeine

European Union is back in the news. It is an extremely vague concept and has been so overused in the past 20 years that it has become just a catch-phrase.

It has frequently been paraded impressively and with the best of intentions, but it has also often stood for no more than short-term actionism, thoughtlessness and hypocrisy.

Foreign Minister Genscher's bid to nudge day-to-day European politics back under a common framework as both a hope and a direction is laudable.

Declarations of intent have been put to paper in the form of a European Act. They not only refer time and again to European Union; they also propose ways in which decision-making processes in the EEC could be combined.

But what then happened was a repeat of what has happened so often in the past. The credibility of Herr Genscher's bid suffered a blow only days after it was formally presented.

The Bonn government promptly went on record as basing its arguments on entirely different premises. At the London EEC summit the German delegation said it would be splendid but most not cost much.

The new-look Europe must certainly not cost more than its predecessor, and preferably less. It is hardly surprising that Herr Genscher's move was thereafter referred to in Brussels and elsewhere as no more than a fig leaf.

Its aim, the argument ran, was merely to cover up the inability of national governments even to meet day-to-day demands and carry out long-overdue and urgently needed reforms of EEC financial structure and farm policy.

Herr Genscher's bid is not the first of its kind. In 1972 the Common Market's heads of state and government declared their intention of transforming "the sum total of relations between member-states into a European Union by the end of the decade."

This intention was reaffirmed at Copenhagen in 1973 and Paris in 1974, but the EEC leaders cannot have been altogether clear what their decision entailed.

At the end of 1974, two years after their initial proclamation, they said they felt it would be appropriate if the Nine were first to reach agreement on an overall concept of European Union.

They agreed to delegate this task to the Belgian Premier, Leo Tindemans. He drew up a report the EEC leaders dealt with in passing in 1976, referring it to their Foreign Ministers for consideration.

It has since been of virtually no importance. *The Times* quoted a French diplomat as saying:

"The Tindemans Report will have to be buried, but the funeral service must be long and florid."

Europe must first take stock, plainly and unequivocally. Is the European Union to be a single, federal state? Or is it to be a less closely-knit confederation?

This question is effectively obsolete. The debate that prompted it is no longer operative. Politically, the demand for a constitutional assembly, a European constitution and, eventually, a European government is no longer topical.

So let us assume that the European Union will be a federal state. This presupposes state territory, state authority and a nation. The last two certainly do not exist.

Still less can there be said to be a voluntary association of free individuals in keeping with general legal principles, not to mention constitutional law.

At least for the time being the psychological prerequisites do not yet exist.

As for the European Union as a loose-knit confederation, European integration organised along EEC lines cannot be said to promote the objective.

Virtually since the EEC began, its leaders have wondered what their aim should be: European integration, in other words intensification, or political expansion? The two are difficult to accomplish simultaneously.

The decision eventually went in favour of expansion. Initially there were six Common Market countries; soon there will be twelve.

Disparities between members, especially economic differences, will then be even greater than they already are. Simple harmonisation will be required; there will be even less talk of integration.

Last, but not least, there is the European Assembly, which has been given an impressive electoral mandate to ensure a great parliamentary leap forward in Europe.

But no-one can yet envisage how Strasbourg is to gain the power it needs if it is to have any real say in the running of European affairs.

The European Commission polled 9,000 people a mere six months after the first direct elections to the European Assembly. Not one in three could even recall that elections had been held.

The next Euro-elections are due to be held in 1984. They could be the last of any importance.

How long will European countries individually be able to prevent the erosion of their position midway between the power blocs?

This is the issue that primarily prompted Hans-Dietrich Genscher to recall the target of European Union. He was right to do so, desperately right.

What is now called for is a stocktaking with no attempt to paper over the cracks. Europe needs concentrated effort and sacrifice. Anything else would be a downhill step.

Dieter Wenz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 December 1981)

EEC reforms are unlikely despite all the talk

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Little if anything is likely to come of bids to reform the European Community despite months of expert talks, an EEC summit and a conference of Common Market Foreign Ministers.

The most that can be hoped is for a few improvements to survive. The whole idea was doubtful in the first place.

A substantial minority among the Ten, led by the main beneficiaries of the Common Agricultural Policy, did not agree that a reform was needed.

Only a narrow majority felt the Common Market unfairly shared out burdens and benefits and pursued a farm policy that was too expensive.

It was a majority just sufficient to oblige the EEC to negotiate. So while the majority got out to push a European Community it said was in need of repair, the minority stayed put and slammed on the anchors.

And even the majority was not agreed among itself. Each country pushed in a different direction, with the result that the course taken, if any, will be determined more by coincidence than by a joint resolve.

At the London meeting of EEC Foreign Ministers Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher was one of the pushers, but, as the *Financial Times* noted:

"Herr Genscher did not seem to be dead set on the German demand for Bonn's net payments to the Community to be limited in future."

Chancellor Schmidt and his Foreign Minister have abandoned their stand in the European reform dispute before having to defend it at all seriously.

They initially complained that Germany was footing too much of the Community's bill, while other, equally well-heeled EEC countries were getting too much.

They wanted the Ten to agree to block Germany's balance over a certain net inpayment level, the exact level being left open to negotiation.

But what is now likely to be left of the reform is unlikely to have much to do with the original request.

At best the saving to Bonn will be about DM100m out of a total transfer to the EEC in Brussels of more than DM12bn.

This meagre outcome must not be taken to mean that the German delegations has failed. They preferred to drop their claims rather than to rule out the slight surviving prospect of EEC reform.

They decided to back down rather than to bargain as blatantly in the Council of Ministers as even the prosperous Dutch were doing.

Above all, they withdrew from the fray because, in the EEC reform debate, they had been told a few unpleasant home truths.

The figures may clearly show that Bonn pays much more than its fair share of the cost of running the Common Market. Chancellor Schmidt may fairly complain that Germany can no longer continue to be the milch-cow of Europe.

But as soon as he does so in the Council of Ministers the voting is 8 to 2 against him, and even that only for as long as Britain too feels hard done by.

Then it is 9 to 1 against Bonn. The Germans may argue that they are not concerned so much about a deutschemark here or there as about financial fair play.

They may say that all they want is to be able to feel they are not being taken for a ride financially, but this cuts no ice with the others.

Brussels Eurocrats report a growing mistrust of Bonn. "What do you Germans really want?" German officials at EEC headquarters are increasingly being asked.

"Are you losing interest in the Community?" is the next question asked.

If other Common Market countries lodge complaints, the EEC has a problem. If Bonn does so, the Community is in immediate and imminent danger.

Commenting on the lament that Germany could not be expected to continue forever as virtually the only net financier of the EEC, an Italian official has said this is a minimalist viewpoint.

French diplomats note with increasing frequency that Germany will have rung up a surplus of nearly DM8bn in trade with France in 1981.

Many German members of the European Assembly agree. They feel the benefit the German economy derives from the Common Market far outweighs the cost to Bonn.

In other words, France and other EEC countries would impose an embargo on imports from Germany, destroy the Common Market and ride roughshod over the Treaty of Rome unless Bonn continue to pay with good grace.

Let Germany export goods and keep quiet, the argument runs. Sound business sense and economic performance in Europe are permitted, but only at a price.

This home truth is taboo. To spell it out is felt to be bad form by EEC diplomats, but Bonn has little choice but to abide by it in its European policy.

Winfried Münster

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 December 1981)

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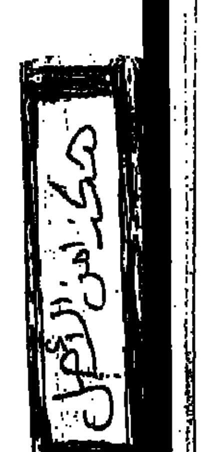
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■ POLITICS

Stoltenberg throws hat into Chancellorship ring



Gerhard Stoltenberg . . . first a denial.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Schleswig-Holstein Prime Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, is prepared to stand for the Chancellorship if his party, the Christian Democrats, ask him.

It was a surprise announcement that has caused some simmering in Bonn.

The prevailing view is that Stoltenberg has made his availability known now in case the governing coalition collapses before its term runs out.

The next general election is due in 1984.

Herr Stoltenberg's announcement comes after an interview with the weekly magazine, *Wirtschaftswoche*, in which he said that the CDU/CSU opposition was not speculating about the next Chancellor candidate.

After the interview was published, he denied that he intended to become a candidate.

Asked by *Wirtschaftswoche* whether he would be available as a candidate should the FDP make a coalition offer, he said: "If we remain in the opposition we must make our personnel decisions for 1984 in 1983. If the coalition collapses earlier, we will put our heads together and come up with the right political and personnel answers."

In an earlier interview, Stoltenberg said that there was no automatic choice for the chancellor candidate should the conservatives take over before 1984. "Should the coalition break up in this legislative period, it will be up to the parliamentary caucus to elect the chancellor."

The ambiguous remark earned him some criticism at the time. By adopting the same stance now, Bonn insiders say, Stoltenberg wants to tell the Bundestag caucus in good time that he would accept a possible nomination.

Many party members have not forgiven Stoltenberg for not being a candidate for Chancellor in 1980.

Many CDU/CSU Bundestag members consider Stoltenberg more astute than opposition leader Helmut Kohl in specific political issues — especially economic and fiscal affairs.

According to Stoltenberg, the key to a new Bonn government does not primarily lie with the CDU/CSU but with the FDP.

Yet the liberals have so far not indicated that they are prepared to change partners. Pointing to the four State elections next year, Stoltenberg said: "Should the SPD lose one or two more *Länder* it is quite conceivable that both SPD and FDP will ask themselves whether there is any point in staying in government under the circumstances."

On the other hand, FDP general secretary Verheugen has confirmed that his party is not thinking of a change of coalition partner before 1984.

He said that the conservative attitude in the Mediating Committee on the new austerity laws had shown that "the policy of adaptation to changed structures cannot be implemented with the CDU/CSU."

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 17 December 1981)

Murky business of raising cash

No party can finance itself from membership dues alone. And even the campaign allowance provided by the state is not enough.

As a result, parties depend on promoters to who make donations, naturally tax deductible.

Seven hundred investigations by the Bonn public prosecutor show that raising cash is not always a straightforward and above board business.

Among those under suspicion are top-ranking politicians. The only reason they do not pillory their political opponents is the fact that all parties are involved.

The impression all this makes is disastrous. The very parties that are pressing for stricter legislation to enable the state to prosecute a bit of moonlighting or tax evasion are themselves large-scale tax evaders.

Tax investigators are certain now that they have fathomed how the parties operate.

Sometimes the donations are channelled via charitable organisations closely associated with a party.

Sometimes party sympathisers provide worthless "studies" which the principals reward in the form of fat fees.

All that matters is to achieve the ultimate objective by promoting a party while at the same time saving on taxes.

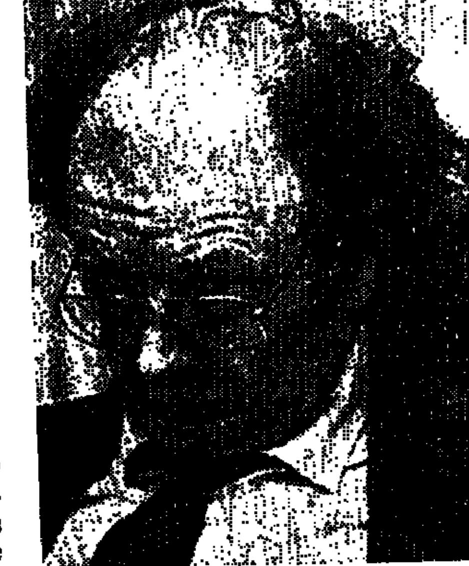
If the letter of the law were observed, party donations up to a maximum of DM1,800 per person could be written off against taxes. This goes back to a Constitutional Court ruling that denied political parties the status of charitable organisations.

In order to be able to receive higher donations, many party officials would like to change the Constitution and so obtain a general amnesty for tax evasion in this connection. But this would be impossible in a democratic country.

Instead of constantly contemplating ways and means of getting more money, the parties should for a change consider how to cut down on spending.

An election campaign with fewer posters and more sound arguments would be gratifying, not only for the party treasurers but for the public.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 12 December 1981)



Karl-Heinz Hansen . . . would not speculate on new party. (Photo: dpa)

Appeal fails: Social Democrat MP's expulsion stands

Vorwärts

The SPD's National Arbitration Committee has confirmed that Karl-Heinz Hansen is expelled from the party to which he belonged for 20 years.

Its decision is a ruling on appeal by Hansen, who had earlier been expelled by a district committee.

The wisdom of the ruling is doubtful. Only the future will show what is more damaging for the SPD: an MP whose ill considered forays have frequently hit below the belt or the decision of the Arbitration Committee, the consequences of which are still incalculable.

It remains to be seen how many SPD members, if any, will demonstrate their sympathy with Hansen by leaving the party.

It also remains to be seen whether the committee ruling will lead to the establishment of a new party to the left of the SPD.

Hansen himself has speculated along these lines. But there is every likelihood that the arbitration committee thought about this when passing its ruling.

One thing is obvious. The supporters and signatories of the Löwenthal paper have now scored their first victory: the expulsion of Hansen has bolstered those forces within and outside the SPD that would like to exclude whole sections of the SPD from the party.

But what exactly triggered the expulsion?

Hansen, a Düsseldorf MP, accused the Chancellor in the spring of "political filthiness".

He apologised. Yet in May he accused the government of engaging in "secret diplomacy".

This is an accusation which, according to SPD general secretary Peter Glotz, is as weighty as the accusation of "having cheated on social security pensions" which the conservatives levelled at the Chancellor during the election campaign.

As a result, the mills of disciplinary action started grinding. The arbitration committee of the Lower Rhine district ruled to expel Hansen, but the MP appealed to the National Arbitration Committee. The party executive board also pressed for expulsion.

After a hearing lasting more than three hours and careful perusal of the dossier, the National Arbitration Committee finally arrived at its ruling which, right or wrong, is final.

Yet several questions come to mind which might be answered when the committee gives its reasons.

How important is freedom of opinion and criticism within the SPD? What are the limits of the Social Democratic Party's tolerance? What about the principle of equality without which there can be no justice within a democracy?

And why is no disciplinary action taken against those who talk loudly about ways and means of excluding whole sections of the SPD?

There is yet another question that should be clarified: are those Social Democrats who agree with the substance of Hansen's criticism to be deemed cast out along with him?

Karl-Heinz Hansen can now take his case to court. And there is yet another possibility of his rejoining the party: once before, an SPD National Congress "pardoned" an expelled member.

That was in Nuremberg in 1968 and the member was Harry Ristock who went on to become a member of the SPD executive board.

Gode Japs

(Vorwärts, 17 December 1981)

Breakaway from SPD mooted

One hundred and fifty former members of the SPD are trying to form a new party of the left, according to reports from Hesse.

The question now is whether moves towards an alternative to the SPD will snowball in view of the expulsion of Bundestag MP Karl-Heinz Hansen.

Hansen himself avoided the question in several interviews after his expulsion. He was on the left wing of the SPD.

He did, however, say that many of his fellow party members had made a decision on this question subject to the outcome of the disciplinary action against him.

All who shared his political views, he said, now had to ask themselves whether these views are still represented within the party or whether "they must now seek a different forum."

SPD general-secretary Peter Glotz said in an interview that Hansen and others would soon find that "it is very difficult to effectively voice views and obtain public support outside the solidarity of a major organisation.

"A party, in other words an organisation based on continuity, is more important than ever in politically and economically difficult times."

Glotz stressed that Hansen was not expelled because of his views, The views he holds still exist within the party, he said. What mattered, however, was to put them forward them in a manner tolerable to others and to preserve the party's scope of action in a difficult time.

Glotz did not exclude the possibility of some party members handing in their cards, especially younger members.

Karl-Heinz Hansen is automatically no longer a member of the SPD parliamentary caucus though he remains a member of the Bundestag.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 December 1981)

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Private ties with Poland are flourishing

At a time when events in Poland itself have diverted attention from the slow progress of official relations between Bonn and Warsaw since the 1970 treaty, private ties between the two countries have gone strength to strength.

The number of trucks that have taken consignments of privately donated goods to Polish cities and the readiness with which Germans respond to appeals for aid to Poland show that normalisation has long been achieved.

Dealings with the lengthy list of longstanding points at issue have become more a matter for politicians than for members of the general public.

Midway between individual, private and official, political ties between Germany and Poland there are the 20 or so German-Polish associations and the like in the Federal Republic of Germany.

There is, incidentally, not a single organisation of the same kind in Poland.

The longest-established is the German-Polish Association of the Federal Republic, set up in Düsseldorf in 1950. The latest newcomer is the Polish Affairs Institute in Darmstadt, opened in March 1980.

The extent to which the two differ, the contradictions between them and the points they hold in common, are characteristic in a small way of the peculiarities and special features of normalisation between the two countries.

The Düsseldorf organisation aims at persuading German politicians to promote normalisation of relations as understood by the Poles; the Darmstadt institute would like to persuade Warsaw to take a long-overdue step in the direction of normalisation.

The Düsseldorf body is not only the oldest and largest; it has about 700 members. It also differs in political motivation from nearly all the 18 regional bodies between Flensburg and Munich that have been set up over the past five years.

It has unerringly maintained from its early days the aim of fostering rapprochement with the People's Republic of Poland.

It does so by advocating in Germany the views espoused by Warsaw, such as the demand for Bonn to abandon legal positions that allegedly run counter to the 1970 treaty.

In this case Bonn is expected to relinquish any claim that ethnic Germans from Silesia and East Prussia have retained German citizenship all along.

It has also steadfastly criticised the Standing Conference of *Land* Education Ministers for retaining the pre-war German borders in German school atlases.

It calls on Bonn to end subsidies to the *Landmannschaften*, or cultural associations of people from the former German eastern provinces.

It dismisses as scurrilous nonsense the ruling by the Federal Constitutional Court on the Basic Treaty between the two German states.

It was a ruling in which the viewpoint on the border issue as dealt with in the Warsaw treaty was upheld.

So the Düsseldorf association has always been sure of official Polish goodwill. In December 1979 it even concluded an agreement on cooperation with the Western Institute in Poznan.

The Western Institute is a scientific body that deals mainly with topics relating to what are officially referred to as the regained Polish western territories.

The agreement between them is the only one of its kind between a German-Polish association and an organisation of any kind in Poland.

Begegnung mit Polen used to be the only magazine published by the Rochus-Verlag, which shares the same Düsseldorf address as the association.

It carried advertisements by Polish companies that kept both the magazine and the association going, but has now been discontinued because its Polish advertisers were short of cash.

As a result the association had to increase its membership dues at its last annual general meeting in Frankfurt. It will also need additional donations.

In its political activities the association goes beyond German-Polish relations in the narrower neaning of the term.

Its executive committee stated in its last report that in view of the break in continuity of detente policy by the Nato missile modernisation resolution the association felt obliged to concentrate its activities increasingly on the peace movement.

The association's president is Professor Ridder, the Giessen constitutional lawyer who in the mid-60s made a name for himself in connection with the emergency legislation as a leading representative of the *Kuratorium Notstand der Demokratie*.

This organisation claimed that emergency legislation was tantamount to an emergency facing democracy itself.

Professor Ridder is currently an initiator of the Krefeld Appeal, a petition against the Nato missile modernisation resolution.

The association's advisory council includes Armin Clauss, the Hesse Minister of Social Affairs, Hilmar Hoffmann, the Frankfurt municipal arts director, and Renate Riemeck, a historian.

Professor Riemeck was a foundermember of the German Peace Union (DFU) in 1960, a political party long alleged to have been a communist front. Other members of the council are Franz von Hammerstein, director of the Protestant Church Academy in West Berlin, and Luise Rinser, the novelist. The association's debates attended by Polish parliamentarians such as Mr Meclewski, a well-known Polish TV propagandist. He is reputed to have been the writer of an interesting booklet intended to make Polish competitors at the 1972 Munich Olympics take the right attitude towards blandishments of class enemies and revanchists such as they would encounter in West Germany.



Emergency food parcels for Poland being loaded in Hamburg under the auspices of CARE, the international aid organisation. CARE has undertaken to supply 50,000 food parcels a month to Poland, providing the money is available. The Polish government provides all transport and distribution costs. (Photo: dpa)

There has been as exhibition of drawings by Auschwitz concentration camp inmates which was seen by 100,000 people. The last programme included an exhibition of Polish poster art.

The Darmstadt institute, in contrast, deals strictly and exclusively with the arts. Housed in an art nouveau villa loaned by the municipality, it is run by Karl Dedecius.

His name, like Ridder's is programmatic. Dedecius is a translator and editor, probably the most important contemporary intermediary between Polish culture and Germany.

The institute was set up in the wake of a suggestion made at the first forum between the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland, held in Bonn in 1977.

The background is that Warsaw to this day has not seen fit to allow Bonn to set up a German cultural institute in Poland.

Opposition to any such idea comes mainly from the GDR, which has no desire to share the German cultural heritage in Poland, its neighbour to the east.

So there is an American library, a British, French and Austrian cultural centre ("Austria -- The First Target of Hitler's Policy of Expansion") in Poland, but none where the Federal Republic of Germany might present its cultural identity.

The Darmstadt institute was set up to show the Polish authorities what ought to be permitted in Warsaw: the opening of a West German cultural centre.

Basically, it does what a corresponding Polish Institute might be expected to do in Germany: translating and disseminating Polish literature in the Federal Republic.

Its executive board includes Countess Dönhoff, editor-in-chief of *Die Zeit*, the Hamburg weekly, and Professor Rhode, the Mainz historian who specialises in Eastern Europe.

The Polish authorities are as mistrustful of the Darmstadt institute's work as they take a benign view of the Düsseldorf association.

Polish delegates to the third forum, held in Darmstadt in May 1980, even declined an invitation by Dedecius to visit the institute.

This mistrust has since been offset. An exhibition entitled Polonica Dedeciana was held at the Warsaw Museum of Literature from May to October last.

It portrayed his life's work (and is due to transfer to Vienna). To mark the occasion Dedecius and Winfried Lipscher, who works at the institute on a project backed by the Bonn Foreign Office, were given a reception by the Polish Arts Minister, Mr Tejchma.

The Darmstadt institute, like its Düsseldorf counterpart, remains heavily dependent on donations of all kinds.

Bernhard Heimrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 December 1981)

Polish conflict

Continued from page 1

refrained from direct intervention in the Soviet sphere of influence.

So it is hardly going out on a limb to forecast that this will continue to be so in Poland, regardless what may yet happen there.

This is just as it should be, no matter how great the sense of outrage may be at the inexorable nature of political facts. The alternative to non-intervention is war.

Active intervention of any kind would call into question the balance of East-West power established at Yalta. It would also presuppose that the Soviet Union was prepared to surrender its sphere of influence.

No-one with an ounce of common sense could possibly want to run this risk. So we would be well-advised to accept the reality of post-World War II Europe.

The truth of the matter is that on the crucial issue, the Poles' desire for freedom and the bold venture of radical constitutional reform, there is nothing we can do to help Poland.

We have no choice but to leave the Poles to their fate.

Events in Poland seem to be taking a different turn from Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The Red Army is on standby but the Kremlin is doing all it can to convey the impression that events in Poland are a matter for the Poles themselves.

The Soviet non-intervention policy may be transparent, but there is no reason to dismiss it as cycnicism on the part of a world power that has mobilised the Polish armed forces against their fellow-countrymen by the mere threat of force without so much as getting its own hands dirty.

We must pursue a policy that enables the Soviet Union to retain its prestige, that strengthens it in its resolve to remain circumspect and that does not end all hope of East-West nuclear arms limitation talks.

If we fail to do so, the Polish crisis could lead to a new and unpredictably serious crisis in world affairs.

Oskar Fehrenbach

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 18 December 1981)

HOME AFFAIRS

The old switch-off-the-power trick doesn't fool the monopolies men

The Monopolies Commission sometimes has to be devious in its attempts to catch offending companies.

Occasionally, for example, investigators will use stairs to reach the top floor of a multi-story building rather than the lift.

This is because when power is switched off, a lift can remain four hours caught between floors — with the investigator inside, if he's not careful.

Some companies, and not just down-at-heel companies, don't think twice about this sort of trick. They will do anything to win time to remove evidence, because commission fines are heavy. They can be as high as DM1m.

The Federal Monopolies Commission was founded in 1958 enforce the 1957 law against unfair competition (anti-trust law).

The law prohibits any agreement between companies aimed at changing the conditions of competitition and the market situation through price fixing or the dividing up of territories for marketing.

Amendments have given the commission additional muscle so it can act when large corporations attempt to dictate prices to retailers.

In 1973 merger control was introduced.

Large corporations have always tended to try and dominate the market through mergers and so curb free competition.

As a result, companies with combined annual sales of more than DM500m must obtain a commission permit before merging: the very large ones before the merger and the others afterwards.

Mergers between small firms are not subject to controls; and cooperation between medium sized businesses are specifically promoted as a means of offsetting "structural disadvantages".

The commission has so far handled 4,000 mergers; 1,000 were approved; 47 stopped; and 70 prevented by the threat of a ban. The merger procedures frequently take a long time because companies can appeal against them and take the matter all the way to the Federal Court.

The commission has lost only six cases on final appeal. But many bans are still being fought in court and are not yet legally binding.

On rare occasions merger bans are ouverruled by Ministerial order.

This happens when the Bonn Minister of Economic Affairs decides that although mergers contravene the anti-trust law, they are justified because they are in the national interest.

Merger control is not only becoming increasingly more important but also more and more complicated, says Professor Wolfgang Kartte, president of the commission.

A classical type of merger is the "horizontal" variety between companies dealing in the same type of product.

The latest case was the intended merger between two huge publishers, Springer and Burda, which the commission prevented.

The merger would have given to two control over TV magazines and provided them with a dominant position in the advertising market. Burda and Springer have now applied for a Ministerial go-ahead.

In a less spectacular case two years ago, the commission stopped the merger between the Gütermann company, which controls 40 per cent of the sewing silk market, and a leading British thread manufacturer.

But if smaller manufacturers of sewing thread wanted to join forces, the commission would say nothing since this would not noticeably change the market.

There are also vertical mergers; for instance when an oil company buys filling stations which in turn have to buy their oil from it.

There are also the diagonal ones across product frontiers.

Things become particularly complicated when corporate mammoths merge abroad. The commission is now working on the already completed merger of the cigarette manufacturers Philip Morris (New York) and Rothmans International (South Africa).

Both have German subsidiaries (respectively Philip Morris, Munich and Brinkmann GmbH, Bremen) for whom the merger abroad means a 31 per cent share of the market. They would thus compete with the German Reemtsma concern.

The commission naturally opposes the merger, but its authority does not extend beyond Germany.

Here it is caught in a cleft stick as it is with the multinational oil corporations.

A spokesman: "We cannot trace oil from its origins in the desert to the filling station round the corner."

As a result, the work of the commission begins at the German border where papers that go with the goods are checked.

The problems are so tricky as to require highly capable personnel. Though the commission has a staff of only 244 (including the doorman and the president) 120 of them are university graduates — half economists and half lawyers.

The commission is self-supporting and its annual budget of DM13.5m is financed from fines. They have totalled DM200m since 1958.

Most of the work is naturally routine and deals primarily with price fixing and the dividing up of territories for marketing purposes.

There have been thousands of court cases involving this and it is here that the sleuths come into their own.

The companies involved are naturally careful. Their price fixing is done in back rooms and usually without anything being written.

The sleuthing begins in the documentation section of the commission where all available business information is gathered, sorted and forwarded to the individual departments which are divided according to products.

All conspicuous developments are recorded, and occasionally there are also tip-offs.



Wolfgang Kartte ... controls becoming more complicated. (Photo: Sven Simon)

The tip-offs do not always come from vengeful accounts clerks who have been fired but frequently from executives or secretaries angered by the price fixing.

There are, of course, also disgruntled customers who complain.

In the spring, for instance, a furniture manufacturer noticed a conspicuous price increase for chipboard.

The commission later found out that the manufacturers had secretly fixed their prices — and fined them DM2.8m.

Whenever the commission takes action it can put forward sound evidence. As a result, 90 per cent of the incriminated companies pay their fines without a murmur while the remaining 10 per cent take the case to court. Half the cases are won by the commission.

Renate Marbach

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 December 1981)

Civil service cuts back on paper clips

The civil service still spends money with uninhibited freedom despite the fact that there isn't so much of it around these days.

According to an organisation known as the Taxpayers Federation, it is only the taxpayer who has to tighten his belt.

The federation says in its 9th "black book on public sector waste" that civil service spending is as if there were no tomorrow.

It also admits that the efforts of these black books are not very successful.

Sometimes they might lead to rationing of paper clips or pencils. Some junior civil servants might even be prevented from using official cars on business.

On the occasions when specific examples of excessive spending is exposed, there is an initial burst of contrition ... then the big spender lies low, hoping that the dust will settle.

It does.

The taxpayer has a right to demand thrift. It is on this basis that the federation has for years demanded that the state spends economically.

Spending cuts are seldom applied to people at the top. And procedures that can only be corrected from the top remain unchanged, the Federal Audit Office has found.

A postal workshop, to mention but one example, took 28 days to replace the handbrake cable of a car. And in procurement offices, the left hand still does not know what the right is doing. Triple orders for the same thing are no exception.

Sometimes, using intricate code letters, equipment is ordered that turns out to be nothing but simple television sets to ease the hardship of the civil servant's 9 to 5 working day.

The list could be continued ad infinitum; and even then the scandals that have come to light are only the tip of the iceberg.

Take Munich University, which has for the past nine years kept a six-storey building vacant while Bavaria's Education and Finance Ministries try to decide what to do with it.

Federal Labour Office President Josef Stingl maintains that the black book incidents concerning his own institution are no more than attempts at image-building by the Taxpayers' Federation.

The fact that the Labour Office in Freising has cost DM11.3m to build instead of the originally planned DM4.4m much an old chestnut as is the exceeding of planned costs in other cities.

At present there are 81 individual projects under construction costing a total of DM1.6bn. And DM168.6m is to be spent this year alone — among other things for fancy terraces, costly facades and outsize offices.

The Federal Labour Office knows that this could all be done much more cheaply, which is why it is up in arms about any criticism.

It is easier to ask for ever more money than to change accustomed ways. This is exemplified by the DM16,000 desk ordered by the president of the Federal Supreme Court.

Though criticism prompted him to pay DM10,000 out of his own pocket towards the cost, he stressed that he was doing so of his own free will and was under no legal obligation.

He is right there. The law permits him to buy the expensive desk because it is worth its price. He can therefore not be accused of squandering public funds.

This would have been true even had he ordered a desk made of solid gold, says the Taxpayers' Federation.

What makes censure by the Audit Office and the Federation so ineffectual is the total lack of any feeling of guilt by those who waste public funds.

The taxpayer has not yet discovered this loophole in the law although it is he who has to suffer.

And it is he who has to fill the ever new gaps in the budget that would never arise if his money were not wasted.

It is hard to imagine what would happen if the public were as outspoken in protesting against waste as they are in demonstrating against pollution and property speculation.

Until the taxpayer wakes up it will be up to the lawmakers to ensure that the criminal offence of wasting public funds is spelled out more clearly.

As matters stand now, it is up to the superior of a civil servant to decide whether to take action following complaints by the Federal auditors.

To relieve the heads of various authorities of this "embarrassing business", the Taxpayers' Federation suggests that a special prosecutor be appointed for such cases.

But the proposal has met with little enthusiasm — perhaps because the civil servants concerned fear the consequences.

Norbert Sturm

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 December 1981)

■ THE ECONOMY

The soothsayers remain miserable

Forecasts by the various economic institutes, councils and economic affairs departments are black or, at best, cautious.

There is good reason for this. Bonn's forecast at the end of last year that things would pick up was far off the mark.

This year's GNP is likely to decline by one to 1.5 per cent. We have just weathered a recession year and there is no change in sight.

This time, too, Bonn is optimistic — but then, it is not the government's function to spread pessimism.

It forecasts a growth rate of 1.5 per cent next year. The economic research institutes speak of one per cent and the Council of Economic Advisers speaks of 0.5 per cent.

The differences are marginal, but the whole thing boils down to stagnation,

Particularly cautious forecasters expect another recession year. This includes the Platow forecast.

Though this institute overestimated the 1981 decline, it has otherwise always hit the mark although — or perhaps because — it is not staffed by a huge number of professors.

Platow anticipates a decline of 1.75 per cent. Perhaps this is too bleak; but regardless of half a percentage point either way, Germany will have to make do with what it gets; and it is unlikely that the future will be much better than as seen by Platow.

Germany was lucky this year despite its problems. Exports were boosted by the exchange rate and the amazingly stable investment activity prevented an even worse recession.

Even so, the investment quota this year dropped from last year's satisfactory 23 per cent.

The reason for this is that investments are not only governed by the decline in interest rates and by improved tax write-offs — which Bonn sensibly introduced — but also by sales prospects and technology.

But there are no expanding markets in sight and hence it is unlikely that much will be invested in new products. But at least the investment motor will be ticking over at half speed.

In a branch of industry as important as automobiles, where the demand has ceased to decline despite the drop in incomes, there is every likelihood that sales will pick up in 1982; and here innovations stimulate investment: the market calls for more economical models, and the need to streamline production is an additional investment incentive in all branches of industry.

As a result, the forecasters are agreed that next year productivity will rise by 2.5 per cent.

But there are two sides to this. The performance of the national economy will improve, but the main problem, unemployment, will get worse.

Only a minimum growth rate of 2.5 per cent would ensure at least the present level of unemployment. But since this is wishful thinking and stagnation is the more likely prospect, unemployment with increase from 1.5 million in November to an annual average of 1.65 million next year.

And should the pessimistic forecast of a one per cent decline in the GNP materialise, unemployment will be 1.75 million.

Although conventional job-creating programmes are unlikely to do much good, especially in view of the fact that two-thirds of our unemployment is structural, there is every likelihood that union pressure will become so strong that Bonn will be forced to scrape together its last few billions and pretend that it is doing something useful.

The trade unions, which are largely responsible for the present situation, will have to face facts. And they are doing so.

The first announced wage targets show that the main aim is to conserve the buying power of the workers. But if the metalworkers' 7.5 per cent pay claim and the 6 per cent demand of the white-collar workers results in a 4.5 per cent deal, even this modest target will not be reached.

Bonn anticipates a 4.5 per cent inflation rate, but this is too optimistic and it is unlikely that the 1982 rate will drop below this year's six per cent.

Lower prices for imported goods due to the declining dollar exchange rate will have a beneficial effect as will the reduced per unit production cost due to more modest wage deals than those of 1981.

But whether production costs can also be reduced by a better use of capacities (this year 78 per cent against last year's 84 per cent) remains to be seen.

The healthy export business has so far failed to boost domestic sales, which have in fact been sagging.

The major areas of industry have presented negative reports. This applies particularly to the construction industry which shows a decline of 5.3 per cent this year and which is unlikely to do much better in 1982, despite lower interest rates.

Disregarding a few special branches like electronic data processing and office equipment (up 10 per cent) and our subsidised shipbuilding industry (up 4 per cent), most areas report a drop in production.

The motor industry stagnated and would have declined had it not been for exports. But the terms of trade are beginning to shift in favour of Germany's industry.

But will the favourable trend continue? The rise of the dollar exchange rate, which favoured our exports, has been halted. There is every likelihood that the dollar will settle at between DM2.10 and DM2.25.

It seems that the difference in inflation rates between the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany is gaining in importance and outstripping the difference in interest rates, which is diminishing anyway.

A major New York bank has already reduced its prime rate to 15.75 per cent. Only a few months ago, it was more than 21 per cent.

Here, too, the era of capital market interest rates of more than 10 per cent seems to be over, especially in view of the fact that there are billions lying around in German capital markets waiting for investment.

But growing budgetary deficits and the huge American capital requirements for the financing of the arms build-up will prevent any major decline in the interest rates.

Germany's export boom is the more surprising considering that none of the major industrial countries has a boom and the volume of world trade is likely to have dropped by one per cent in 1981.

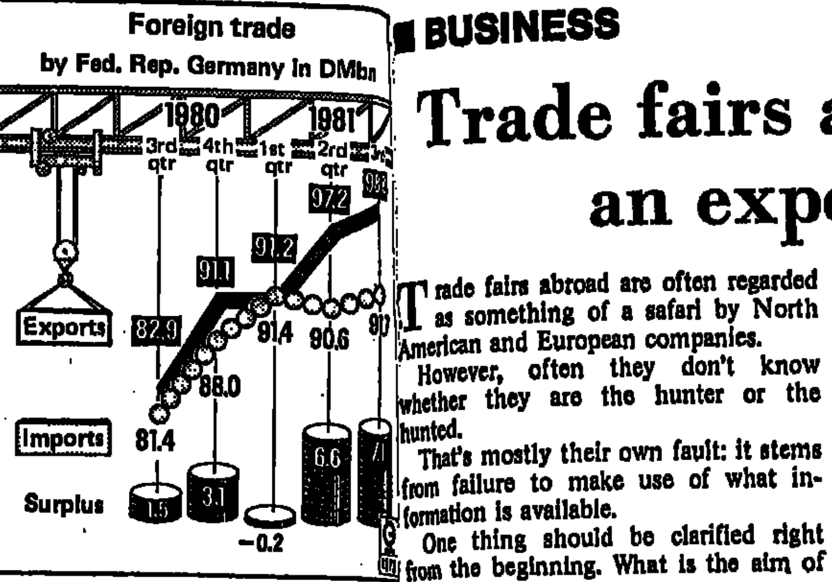
Despite all hopes pinned on Reagan, the United States has slid into a recession. But this does not mean that Reagan's supply-side policy is wrong. It is much too early to tell.

Still, the 3 to 3.5 per cent decline in the GNP in the last quarter of this year, coupled with a double-figure inflation rate and growing unemployment, is anything but propitious.

Despite tax incentives, the American capital goods industry complains about meagre order books.

Almost all industrial countries are trying to fight unemployment, though using widely differing methods.

The monetarism of Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher exists on paper only. In reality, Britain's public sector indebtedness keeps growing.



So far President Mitterrand's nationalisation policy in France has been as unsuccessful as Reaganomics.

But there is a silver lining for world trade: the industrial countries' current account deficits are diminishing including that of Japan, which has been in the vanguard regarding growth policy but is now chafing more and more against the import barriers of its most important customers.

The current account deficit of all OECD countries will drop to US$45bn (1980: US$75bn).

Although the rise in oil prices was halted this year and (if the Saudi Arabians have their way) will remain steady in 1982, the Opec countries have again achieved huge surpluses due to the strength of the dollar.

The stabilisation of oil prices at a high level does not mean that the drain on the industrial countries' affluence due to the oil bill has come to an end and this applies in equal measure to Germany as it does to oil-rich Britain.

Ludwig Erhard's admonishment to exercise moderation, which has been mocked and maligned by the shortsighted, is something we will have to adopt and come to terms with.

Any other attitude would be tantamount to an ostrich policy — a course still pursued by many policy makers.

There is no change in sight, and how could there be since we are lacking the main prerequisites for it: performance and innovation.

Franz Thoma

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 December 1981)

Step towards a stronger deutschemark

Both Bonn and the Bundesbank have opted for a course which, they hope, will lead to the mark becoming once more an appreciating currency.

Foreign investors would then be prepared to outlay more cash without worrying too much about interests rates.

This would help to finance the current account deficit.

The Bundesbank's money supply target for 1982 of between 4 and 7 per cent and its reduction of the Lombard bank rate from 11 to 10.5 per cent is a step in the fight against unemployment.

Now it is up to the Bonn government and the parties to collective bargaining.

Germany is better off than most other industrial nations. But it is poor compared with the bouncing health of the economy before the oil shock.

We have too many jobless and an excessive inflation rate, Due to our virtually total dependence on imported oil we are forced to live beyond our means and are now faced, with the impossible task of equitably distributing a zero growth among employers and workers.

Fortunately, both the Bonn government and the Bundesbank have so far resisted those who recommended patent remedies.

There were those who advocated letting the deutschemark exchange rate drop. Had the Bundesbank gone along at the time, our oil bill, which has to be paid in dollars and which is high enough anyway, would have been staggering and inflation would have gone up. The result would have been higher wage demands and more unemployment.

Others recommended reducing our interest rates regardless of the rates abroad, But this would have been the same as a deutschemark depreciation.

The trade unions demanded a job creating programme, to be financed through additional borrowing. This, too, would have resulted in more inflation and — after a flash in the pan improvement on the labour market — more unemployment.

Bonn and the Bundesbank have opted for a more tedious and more effective course.

The basic idea is that the deutschemark must once more become an appreciating currency.

Financing the current account deficit with imported capital would be the result.

The Bundesbank has grasped the first opportunity to enable the banks to borrow (against securities as a collateral) at 10.5 instead of 11 per cent.

It was able to do this because the export boom and reduced oil imports somewhat closed the balance of payments.

Moreover, US interest rates have gone down in the wake of the first success on the inflation front.

This has ushered in a process of interest reductions in this country as well; and it is praiseworthy that the reduction is being implemented very gradually to reduce the danger of a setback.

But this process can only be contin-

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■ BUSINESS

Trade fairs an easy way to come an expensive cropper

Trade fairs abroad are often regarded as something of a safari by North American and European companies.

However, often they don't know whether they are the hunter or the hunted.

That's mostly their own fault: it stems from failure to make use of what information is available.

One thing should be clarified right from the beginning. What is the aim of the fair?

"Don't be influenced by rumours or reports of fantastic successes you might have heard. After all, sensational successes always go hand-in-hand with equally sensational risks," says Munich fair expert Günter D. Roth.

Wrong assessments are usually because travel-happy exhibitors fail to obtain 'reliable information on the actual market opportunities for their products.

They arrive with unwarranted hopes.

There is another thing to consider. Only consumer goods fairs usually result in direct orders.

With capital goods, fairs are usually restricted to exchanging information and establishing contacts.

They are therefore costly if the wrong fair is picked.

There are five main reasons why Germany's medium sized companies are under-represented at, say, Mexican or Indian fairs, compared with major corporations:

- high cost;
- unclear ideas of a possible success;
- lack of export marketing;
- inadequate information on the country and its people; and
- no staff with foreign experience.

Yet it is the medium sized companies that stand a good chance at such fairs since they frequently offer special goods others cannot supply.

Specialisation enables them not only to compete with large corporations but is also the key to success on the highly competitive export markets of the world.

Information on the country, its people and its markets is therefore a must.

But statistical figures on infrastructure and per capita incomes do not always provide reliable information on how German goods will actually be received. It is here that the nose comes into its own.

Those who want to penetrate foreign markets and stay there must learn to cope with different ways and habits.

This includes the type of advertising and general promotion plus negotiating techniques.

European and American attitudes aren't always suitable for new African and Asian states.

Apart from knowledge and experience on foreign markets, it is above all patience that matters. And this is a virtue harried Europeans frequently lack. After all, most other peoples of this world have more time than we do. In view of the many problems, small and medium companies are frequently represented by partner firms familiar with local conditions. The partners can be wholesalers or agents. Making use of their know-how costs money and reduces profits but in the long run can save a lot of money. According to a 1979 study by the Munich Ifo Institute, some 69 per cent of companies dealing in capital goods attend foreign fairs.

Medium sized companies can save money by going as part of the official Federal Republic of Germany representation. Close to 40 per cent of exhibitors at foreign fairs seek such an arrangement.

German companies participate on a major scale in about 500 fairs and shows abroad. 130 are officially attended by the Federal Republic of Germany, says the Shows and Fairs Committee of the German Business Community (Auma).

Together with the Bonn Ministry of Economic Affairs, Auma coordinates German involvement in foreign fairs. Bonn subsidised this to the tune of DM23.5m this year, and the individual *Länder* contributed another DM5m.

Though the assistance from Bonn and the *Länder* is naturally welcome, it is frequently considered a nuisance by the exhibitors because of its lack of coordination and because ambitious individual interests often turn into a caricature of a meaningful involvement abroad.

Thus, for instance, Bavaria's Economic Affairs Minister Anton Jaumann recently opened a "Bavarian Design" show in Peking. The move (cost: DM1.2m) met with a lot of scepticism outside Bavaria, and Bonn actually wondered whether such shows are conducive to economic relations.

But a spokesman for the Bavarian Economic Affairs Ministry, Bernd Lenze, said he saw nothing unusual in the show, stressing that "Bavaria has been working with the Chinese since 1974."

Quite apart from Bavaria's involvement in China, foreign fairs fulfil three major functions:

AEG . . . parading at Peking fair. (Photo: dpa)

- They enable foreign companies to obtain a picture of the international supply, the market structure and competitors;
- In centralistic countries and the East Bloc such fairs promote direct contacts with the users of goods bought by a central government agency;
- Foreign fairs make for contacts ranging from agencies all the way to cooperation deals and joint ventures.

Exhibiting abroad is an expensive business. A German maker of construction machinery who regularly exhibits his goods in Baghdad has come up with the following expenses:

Translating and notarising, DM400 per bale of freight; the exhibition stand, DM18,000; two helpers, a nightwatchman, an electrician, telephone, chairs, tables, drinks, etc. DM8,000; a mechanic and two salesmen from Germany, around DM10,000 each. The total without the exhibited goods thus comes to around DM100,000.

The Munich Ifo Institute figures that the average overall cost of taking part in a foreign fair comes to about DM45,000 for the manufacturing industry, DM34,000 for commerce and DM30,000 for goods produced by tradesmen.

Foreign fairs account for about 20 per cent of the sales promotion budgets of industrial and artisan companies and about 30 per cent for trading companies.

These figures bring home how costly it can be to plunge into a foreign fair without full information and weighing all pros and cons.

(Wirtschaftswoche, 11 December 1981)

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ued if the other pillars of the economy act sensibly.

By announcing the money supply target for 1982 and the margin within which this supply will be permitted to grow, the Bundesbank has revealed its intentions. It expects the production potential to increase as a result of expanded plants and 1.5 to 2 per cent more output.

The underlying assumption is that prices will rise by 3.5 per cent and that the rate at which the money supply will grow will remain unchanged.

The targets are realistic and — given a flexible policy — they can be achieved.

We could in fact face the New Year confidently if the Bonn government and the parties to collective bargaining were to pull in the same direction.

But it has become obvious in the Bundestag mediating committee that the necessary changes in public sector budgets cannot be implemented to the extent that is called for.

On the other hand, there are signs indicating that most union bosses have understood that the next round of collective bargaining cannot even attempt to offset losses in buying power due to inflation if due consideration is to be given not only to those who are lucky enough to have a job but also to those who have the misfortune of being unemployed.

(Die Zeit, 11 December 1981)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Modern Nazis a more devious version

Week after week the *Deutsche Nationalzeitung* goes through the motions with a print run of about 100,000.

Its aim is to ensure, 36 years after the Second World War, that Germany's bedrock of Nazi opinion keeps its hand in.

The Third Reich is glorified, the crimes of the Nazi regime are either made out to have been harmless or claimed never to have been committed.

Today's democratic, constitutional government is ridiculed. Anti-Semitism and aggressive xenophobia rear their ugly heads.

In a recent issue Willy Brandt is libelled as usual, while publisher Gerhard Frey and ex-Col. Hans-Ulrich Rudel call on "all people of good will" to join an "initiative to limit foreigners" and "maintain the German character."

Alongside the Freys and others who go over the old Nazi ground there are others who sow the seeds of violence on the far right of the political spectrum.

They are based in the Federal Republic of Germany, in other European countries and, above all, in the United States and Canada. And they have no lack of aides and accomplices.

The authorities give them little trouble as they send through the post hundredweights of right-wing extremist views in print: brochures, leaflets and stickers.

Ernst Zündel, a Toronto-based publisher, threatened the judges and public prosecutors in the Düsseldorf Majdanek trial.

One of these days, he wrote, they too would stand trial before a German court. When they did, to quote Mao Tse-tung, justice would be spoken from a gun barrel.

The seed of violence have long borne fruit. They flourish in self-styled German action groups that have been responsible for many an act of violence against foreigners.

These small groups of violent conspirators have killed and maimed a fair number of victims. There are also a large number of right-wing para-military groups.

Peter Glotz, now Bonn business manager of the SPD, noted four years ago that left-wing sects were bound to lead to right-wing ones, that left-wing violence, as practised by the RAF, the Second of June Movement and the Revolutionary Cells, would lead to right-violence.

We would then have right-wing Baaders, he wrote, initially with proletarian backgrounds. They would not have an international background, which would make it easier to deal with them, but their individual brutality would be all the greater.

Glotz has been proved right, except inasmuch as he underestimated their ability to secure international backing. They now have international links and are busy extending them.

Over the past three years neo-Nazis in Germany have killed 19 people and injured more than 220. Six have themselves been killed.

One shot himself last Christmas after having shot and killed two Swiss customs officers. One blew himself up in a Munich *Oktoberfest* blast.

Another was murdered by other right-wingers. A fourth, 44-year-old forester Heinz Lembke, hanged himself in his cell after the police had unearthed an arms cache he had buried in the Lüneburg Heath.

Two others, Kurt Eduard Wolfgram, 21, and Klaus Ludwig Uhl, 24, were caught by the police in Munich last October with a van full of hand grenades, sub-machine guns, several other firearms and ammunition.

They were killed in a shoot-out with the police and are said to have been dangerous international link-men on the far right of the political spectrum, arms and cash procurers.

Another neo-Nazi, Kay Uwe Bergmann, is presumed dead. He is said to have been rubbed out by fellow-trainees at a PLO camp in the Lebanon because it was feared he might be a turncoat.

Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum has noted a growing neo-Nazi fanaticism. The Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the domestic intelligence agency, says right-wingers are showing increasing signs of violence.

Its report on political extremism in 1980 listed 113 terrorist activities and acts of violence by militant right-wing extremists.

In 1979 the figure was 97, a year earlier 52. The authorities have files on about 1,800 members of 22 neo-Nazi groups and lone right-wingers.

About 150 of them are on record as already having engaged in violence. In 1980 the police confiscated about four kilograms of explosive, 134 hand grenades and bombs, 200 firearms, 315 knives and 21,000 rounds of ammunition. Heinz Lembke's 31 caches in the Lüneburg Heath were unearthed by the police to reveal 156 kilograms of explosive, 13,500 rounds of ammunition, 50 rocket launchers, 258 hand grenades and 15 firearms.

Roman Herzog, Interior Minister of Baden-Württemberg, feels there is sufficient evidence that right-wing militants are adopting tactics similar to those used by the RAF, or Red Army Fraction, which they secretly admire.

This, he says, has been shown by plans for arms procurement and hostage-taking. Right-wingers have set up an aid organisation for nationalists in custody.

Its role is to organise legal aid, to look after prisoners and even to run hunger strikes against prison conditions and to coordinate and finance recognition as political prisoners.

At present 20 neo-Nazis are reported to be serving prison sentences and 40 to be in investigative custody.

The longest sentence a neo-Nazi is currently serving is 11 years. Ex-Bundeswehr serviceman Lothar-Harold Schulte was convicted of setting up a terrorist organisation.

The authorities are worried by the increasingly conspiratory activity of right-wing extremist groups. They are said to be battening down more and more tightly. New members are obliged to take part in criminal offences and to be prepared to serve time in prison for them if need be, it is claimed.

In one case in Lower Saxony an official of the *Verfassungsschutz*, or domestic intelligence agency, has even switched sides and joined the neo-Nazis.

Developments among right-wingers are taking an alarming turn, yet the law does not seem to be taking them as seriously as it does left-wing extremists. Between 1 September 1978 and 31 October 1981 there were 631 sentences, 97 sentences not yet valid (because the defendant's counsel had appealed or might yet do so) and acquittals in about one case in ten. But as one well-informed commentator has put it: "Judges and public prosecutors may not be blind to right-wing offences but, perhaps in view of their chosen careers, they could be termed a little slack in dealing with right-wingers."



Neo-Nazi propaganda confiscated in Stuttgart.

(Photo:

Right-wingers often get off with lenient sentences, he says, whereas left-wingers are exposed to the full rigours of the law.

The public prosecutor's office in Karlsruhe has on several occasions had to be leaned on politically to get cracking on certain cases, the story goes.

The cases alleged are those of the arms caches in the Lüneburg Heath; the bomb raids on migrant workers' quarters and the Würzburg para-military group *Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann*.

Yet if, say, a woman teacher spray-paints an RAF slogan on the autobahn, the public prosecutor's office comes down on her like a ton of bricks.

Developments on the right-wing fringe go beyond the hard-core militants. In comparison with 1979 the membership of right-wing extremist groups increased in 1980 by 14.5 per cent to about 20,000.

They belong to over 75 organisations, although the *Deutsche Volksunion*, run by Dr Frey, the proprietor of the *Nationalzeitung*, has over 10,000 members.

This is more than the NPD, or National Democratic Party, which has about 7,200. All these groups, even the militant ones, rely on donations to keep going (unless they happen to stage bank raids).

This tendency towards more right-wing views is reflected among the general public, according to a survey made for the Chancellor's Office in Bonn.

They survey brought to light what one Bonn expert dubbed German armchair fascism. Many people are receptive towards extremist views.

Right-wingers are taking advantage of this receptiveness by means of increasingly adept and subtle agitation aimed at skilled and unskilled workers, white-collar workers and students.

The propaganda is spread in an avalanche of periodicals, newspapers, brochures and adventure and war stories and pseudo-scientific literature that is repeatedly classified as unfit for juvenile reading.

The government agency that classifies material as unfit for juvenile consumption is increasingly having to deal with right-wing violence on video film.

Bonn officials would be more than happy to see the Ministry of Family and Youth Affairs and Health acting more in accordance with the advice of the law enforcement agencies and the *Verfassungsschutz*.

The Ministry shares with local authority youth departments the privilege of being entitled to start proceedings against material felt to be unfit for juvenile consumption.

There has been criticism from various quarters in the past that the Ministry has quietly shelved recommendations to start proceedings against a variety of publications.

The authorities are also having trouble with the New Right, a movement of French origin that no longer tries to glorify the Nazi past; it proclaims an allegedly new social Darwinist approach instead.

Men are unequal. Like animals they are governed by the survival of the fittest. Struggle is a principle of life. There is a master race. Negroes and Jews are stupid. And so on.

The New Right tries to argue along scientific lines, which makes it more difficult for the authorities to take preventive action against it.

Another new approach that is growing increasingly popular is the bid to glorise National Socialism and its catchphrases by means of comic strips and blood-and-thunder science fiction.

Attempts are being made to gain support among the young by taking part in the ecological movement and running extreme right-wing magazines for students and schoolchildren.

Rudolf Steffen of the Bonn agency that vets material felt to be unfit for the young says these magazines are often so well done that they are not immediately identifiable as neo-Nazi literature.

Peter Dudek and Hans-Gerd Jaschke, in a survey of the new right-wing youth Press carried by the supplement of *Das Parlament*, the Bonn weekly, conclude that:

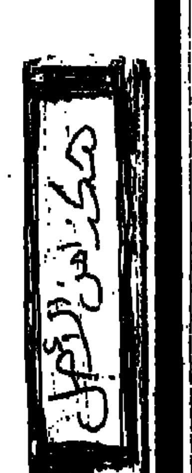
"By definition they make themselves out to be critical, hard-hitting and satirical 'alternative magazines' lined up against left-wing democratic regional papers."

The two best-known magazines in this category are *Mut* and *Gäck*. The latter is published by the Viking Youth and the authors of the survey have this to say about it:

"We feel *Gäck* is the politically most dangerous of the papers reviewed, not just because of its racist ideology but because it most consistently copies the media output aimed at youth by the advertising and entertainment industries.

"It represents a clear break with the traditions of extreme right-wing publications. It presents young people a fascism with a smiling face." *Volker Skierka*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 December 1981)



■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Poll reveals a vagueness about energy of future

Cologne sociologists have compared 1977 and 1980 opinion polls on energy problems and found that despite growing anxiety about a major blackout Germans' views have changed little over the years.

Few have any idea how future energy requirements are to be met, and those who do have definite opinions continue to differ with each other.

Yet three Germans out of five are worried about the possibility of a major power blackout and an end to the free and easy days of limitless energy.

In 1977 only 50 per cent of Germans questioned were seriously worried that supplies of oil, gas and electricity might run low or out.

But this worry does not seem to have made them change their minds about fundamental issues such as the energy source they prefer.

In 1977 anti-nuclear opinions were held by 24 per cent of the people interviewed. By 1980 this percentage had increased by a solitary point to 25.

In 1977 nuclear power was favoured by 46 per cent. Despite growing feelings of anxiety this percentage too has remained more or less constant, also edging up one per cent to 47.

Cologne sociologists Manfred Güllner and Gerhard Christiansen are the men who have compared the figures. Güllner is head of the municipal statistics office, Christiansen head of the municipal research unit.

One of their findings is that while the issue and discussion of it have by no means reached a conclusion, most people's minds are made up.

Their basic views are predetermined by social status and educational qualifications. The ongoing debate has confused them to the point at which they are no longer prepared to change their minds.

Güllner carried out his comparative survey in the wilds of Lapland while on holiday in unspoilt nature.

A sociologist, Social Democrat and a sympathiser with the ecological and environmental movement, he found that the views of the average West German on energy were as follows:

One in four have no idea how energy supplies are to be ensured in the long term. Those who do have an opinion on the subject tend to favour a mixed bag.

They would like to see all available energy resources used, combined with a bid to cut back consumption.

One in five expect energy saving to make a contribution towards ensuring supplies. One in three favour alternative energy, such as solar, wind and water power.

Two in five feel domestic coal has a major role to play in meeting future energy requirements.

Half the people interviewed accept the construction of nuclear power stations as one means of ensuring power supplies.

The combined total is well over 100 per cent. This is because most people hold a variety of views simultaneously, which complicates an overall assessment.

One conclusion, surprisingly enough, can be reached with some certainty. It is that public opinion on nuclear power has hardly changed at all since 1977.

The numbers for and against have remained virtually the same: half are in favour, a quarter are opposed to the idea and the remainder are don't knows.

Güllner wonders what difference, if any, publicity campaigns by either side have made to the position.

"After all the hearings and demonstrations at Brokdorf, Gorleben, Biblis, the car stickers and the ongoing debate you might have expected the detailed discussion to have led to a change of viewpoint."

Yet this seems not to have happened. In percentage terms people seem to have maintained their opinions most consistently.

Maybe there is some truth in the Marxist adage that what you are determines the views you hold.

At all events, the only people to be at all well-informed on energy matters are those who follow the course of events because they have the ability and inclination to do so.

The extent to which people are informed on energy saving likewise depends on their educational qualifications. Twenty-nine per cent of people with minimum school and career qualifications see no possibility of economising on energy around the home.

Only 12 per cent of the better-educated are at a loss for ideas on this subject.

The pattern is repeated when people's income brackets are taken into account. The lower their earnings, the fewer their ideas on energy saving at home.

Yet 33 per cent all told feel there are still ways in which they could save energy on heating, and a further 30 per cent feel they could save energy on water heating, electric household appliances and lighting.

Sixteen per cent see no way in which they could possibly economise on energy around the home. Twenty-one per cent wouldn't know how.

All told, the Cologne sociologists conclude, people are more interested than they used to be in the problems that might arise if energy saving really became acutely necessary.

Energy supplies is an issue to which they give more thought than they did four years ago. But it does not worry them very much.

It is certainly not as worrying as it might have been expected to be, given the intensity and ongoing nature of the political debate. *Annelie Stankau*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 8 December 1981)

Pollution no longer just a threat

Pollution is not just a threat to the environment; in the industrialised countries it has begun to reduce life expectancy, says the environmental affairs commission of the Social Democratic Party.

The SPD commission favours policies aimed less at economic growth and more at environmental protection, and its catalogue of demands has been approved by the SPD executive in Bonn.

"Those who are anxious to maintain the quality of the environment," the policy brief says, "must change industrial society as a whole."

The aim must be to prevent any further decline in life expectancy, for instance.

Between 1949 and 1979 the life expectancy of women in Germany increased from 68 years 5 months to 76 years 1 month; it is now down to 75 years 6 months.

Over the same period the life expectancy of men increased from 64 years 6 months to 69 years 4 months; it has since declined to 69 years exactly.

The SPD commission says the industrialised countries account for the lion's share of environmental pollution in the world.

Unless they scale down their demands on world resources, or at least keep them down to their current level, they will be sure to contribute to a further aggravation of a situation that has already assumed dramatic proportions.

The Social Democratic environmentalists list the following points on which environmental policy must, in their opinion, concentrate:

- In industrial conurbations there must be no inroads into the current pollution limits.
- Individual pollution limits must be laid down for workers whose health is particularly threatened by pollution hazards.
- Regular checks of water taken from rivers and lakes, of sewage and effluent pumped into them and of sewage farms and rubbish dumps are essential if polluted rivers and lakes are to be cleansed; polluters must foot the bill.
- Neither industrial nor local authority waste must be pumped into the sea if the North Sea is to be saved. Harmful substances that flow into the sea from rivers must be dealt with at source, which in the Weser's case means in the GDR and in Czechoslovakia.
- Dikes, embankments and barrages must in future be built only to protect land from flooding and no longer to reclaim land from the sea.
- Environmental pollution by motor vehicles has reached such an alarming level that the SPD commission recommends a number of drastic measures.

They include an increase in road tax, no new autobahns, new roadbuilding only to complete existing projects, priority for goods traffic by rail and extension of public transport facilities.

Speed limits are also envisaged, both to save lives and to reduce health hazards.

Unlike Berlin political scientist Richard Löwenthal, the SPD environmentalists see no dangerous contradiction between an industrialised society and environmental protection.

"Ecological, economic and social targets are of equal importance to Social Democrats," they say. "In principle there is no contradiction between them."

At SPD headquarters in Bonn the more or less simultaneous publication of Professor Löwenthal's tenets and the party's environmental policy document is said to be coincidental but by no means unwelcome.

"The SPD attaches particular importance to the fact that the environmental policy document was endorsed unanimously by the commission," says Herr Clement, spokesman for the party's national executive.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 11 December 1981)

Home-generated electricity by bicycle

DIE ZEIT

For the past three months a Heidelberg student and his girlfriend have lived without mains electricity in a two-roomed apartment in Kirchheim, a suburb of the university town.

Their electricity was cut off on 29 September for persistently refusing to pay the 10 per cent of their electricity bill they felt helped to finance nuclear power.

But life has not been a blackout for Heinrich, a student of psychology and political science, and his girlfriend, a secretary.

They generate their own electric power by bicycle. The bike is mounted on a stand by the desk in their living-room. Its rear wheel powers a dynamo that generates between 100 and 150 watts.

The dynamo feeds the power to five car batteries on the bookshelf. There is a solar generator on the window ledge to ensure that the batteries do not run flat.

Half an hour's pedalling is enough to generate electric power for the day, especially as they have grown selective in their use of electricity.

The TV set was first to go. "Mediocre programmes so annoyed us that we felt that alone squandered too much pointless energy," Heinrich says.

They don't have much use for a refrigerator either. They live on fresh fruit and vegetables and grain.

The electric power they still use runs the lights, the electric typewriter, the vacuum cleaner, the stereo and the washing machine.

They are not using the stereo much at present; a battery radio is more popular. The washing machine is trickier. It runs and pumps water, but the water is lukewarm.

Heinrich and his girlfriend are the last two stalwarts of the Strobo campaign in Heidelberg. Two years ago 110 householders began to deduct 10 per cent of their electricity bills to pressurise the power utility to forgo nuclear power.

But the others have given up now the power company has cut off their power. A bid to get a court order against the cut-off failed.

The judge said that those who refused to pay would have to generate their own power, Heinrich recalls.

In the course of a two-year protest campaign he and his girlfriend withheld DM80 from their electricity bills, whereas they have invested several hundred marks in their own pedal power station.

But environmentally it is beyond reproach, they say. Is it a viable alternative to mains electricity? For them it is, but they can only speak for themselves.

They missed hot tapwater most, but have grown accustomed to cold showers. For a hot bath they put the tub in the living-room and boil water on the stove.

They say it's fun. "But it's up to the individual," Heinrich's girlfriend says, "and what comforts he feels are indispensable."

Johanna Eberhardt

(Die Zeit, 11 December 1981)

■ AEROSPACE

Communications boost as Euro satellite goes into orbit

Marecs, the Maritime European Communications Satellite, is aloft. It was put into orbit by the European launcher rocket Ariane from Kourou, French Guiana.

For Ariane it was the fourth and final test launching; Marecs, its payload, is the first of three satellites to span the globe.

They will maintain a constant satellite relay link between merchant navy ships and their home ports.

Via Marecs ships all over the world can use the international telephone, teleprinter and facsimile transmission services.

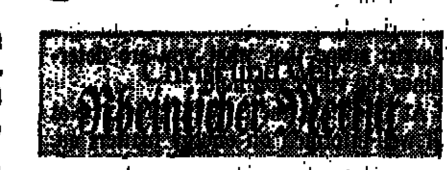
The international maritime satellite system should help to eliminate the annoying waste of time waiting for relay *links to be established between the* land-based relay station and the ship on the high seas.

Radio contact will also be consistent, of high quality and no longer subject to atmospherics or the distance between the two.

Marecs can relay to ships the latest weather reports. For specific areas special reports may be compiled to help ships to ride out a hurricane, say.

These are jobs that have long been handled by land-based radio stations such as Norddeutsch-Radio on Germany's North Sea coast, but atmospherics have often complicated communications.

The Morse code and conventional ma-



ritime radio ruled supreme until 1976, then the US Marisat programme heralded an improvement.

From 1982 a trio of Marecs satellites in orbit will relay communications worldwide between European and other merchant ships and their home ports.

They will be launched as part of the Inmarsat system but maintain close contact with the Intelsat 5 network, which is already in orbit and operation.

Expansion of the communications fa*cilities between shipping and its home* ports is of substantial economic importance; it also improves the safety of ships and crews in the event of an emergency.

A key feature of the system will be the worldwide relay of SOS calls and distress signals.

About three years ago a German freighter, the *München*, went down with all hands somewhere near the Azores. She sank without trace.

The official report concluded that her heavy cargo must have slipped and caused her to list. A breaker is presumed to have sunk the listing vessel.

The fate of the *München* is an example of how important it is for SOS calls and positions to be relayed as widely and as soon as possible. So is that of the container freighter *Elma Tres*, which sank off the Bermudas a few weeks ago. If the *München* had been able to relay her SOS by satellite the crew's lives might have been saved. As *it was, no-one knew* exactly what her position had been at the time of the mishap, so the air-sea rescue planes had to scour a wide area of sea. The new Marecs system will make it easier for other vessels to receive distress signals and to relay them to the emergency services. Inmarsat is backed by the major seafaring nations, including the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, Norway, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany.



Getting ready for the lift-off.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Nearly 20 states signed the agreement in July 1979. The system has an original capital of $200m.

The three satellites envisaged will be stationed over the Atlantic, *Pacific and* Indian Oceans, covering the entire face of the earth and its maritime trading routes.

They will all orbit the earth over the equator and at an altitude of 36,000km, where their orbit time is exactly 24 hours. So from down below they will appear to be stationary.

Marecs consists of a compact, almost cubic central unit with antennas in front and solar paddles *at each side to convert* sunlight into electric power.

Sophisticated system to maintain position

A sophisticated positioning *system* will ensure that the satellite in general and its antennas in particular are aimed exactly at the Earth.

They will do so to within a margin of half a geographical degree. The solar cells will, by the same token, always be aimed at the Sun, ensuring a constant 1,000 watts or so of electric power.

The electronic payload was built by Marconi Space and Defence Systems. Communications between satellite and ground station are in the four- to six-gigahertz frequency range.

Communications between satellite and ships are in the 1.5- to 1.6-gigahertz range.

In addition to the main antennas for *relaying signals* to ships the satellite has several smaller horn antennas for data and command reception.

The first satellite was originally to have been launched before mid-December but trouble with this communication system led to postponement.

The satellite design was based on experience gained by a British consortium in building the OTS, Europe's first communication satellite, launched in 1978.

Marecs is designed on the module principle. Inside it consists of two platforms arranged round the small rocket motor used to get *the satellite* into the right orbit.

The service module comprises operational facilities, the payload module the electronic systems needed to relay communications, such as amplifiers, transponders and so-on.

*Four Marecs satellites in all are plan*ned; the fourth will be held in reserve. They will be built by a European consortium headed by British Aerospace. The contract is worth about *DM65m*.

Germany has a fair share of the contract. Erno in Bremen are responsible for the temperature, attitude stabilisation and orbit correction systems.

All three operational satellites will be launched by Ariane, which is a splendid opportunity for the European launcher rocket to show it can perform as well as the more expensive American space shuttle.

The Marecs just launched will survey the Atlantic from a vantage point over the equator at 15 degrees west.

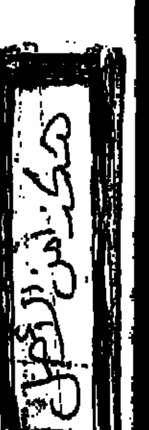
The second satellite is *to be launched* in April and brought into position over the Pacific at 188 degrees east.

The main ground station for the Marecs system will be at the European space operations centre in Darmstadt near Frankfurt.

Others will be in Redu, Belgium, Kourou, French Guiana, Malindi, Kenya and Carnarvon, Australia.

Wolfgang Engelhardt

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 11 December 1981)





■ LITERATURE

Translators' forum gets smaller

The annual gathering of translators into German, known as the Esslingen talks, was hard hit by economies this year.

There used to be seminars in six to eight language groups; this year there were only three: English, French and Czech.

There were two reasons why. Government spending cuts was one; the other will be dealt with later.

Economies in the arts, as elsewhere, have a habit of being made where you would hardly expect further cuts to be possible, let alone to achieve much of a saving.

They are a sad blow to literary translators, who are loners, shun the limelight, *are poorly paid and given scant attention.*

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bergneustadt, near Bonn, where the talks have been held since 1973, had to halve the number of speakers.

The body that in the past has awarded prize-winning translators travel scholarships was this year unable to do so.

It may not rely on public funds but it has found its sources of cash, publishers and other private donors, more reluctant to provide funds this year.

Klaus Birkenhauer, president of the German Translators' Association and head of the translators' section of the *Writers' Association, sounded a disheartening note.*

Emergency plans were needed to salvage *what* was left of the European Translators' *College in Straelen on the* Dutch border, he said.

Invitations to several Yugoslav translators to attend the gathering had to be withdrawn. Two Bulgarian translators could not be paid travel expenses.

This list of economies could be continued with ease. They testify to the shortcomings of an arts system in which much more importance is attached to an opera choir than to a dozen translations of novels.

Why, one wonders, is the Literature Fund unable to provide a shot in the arm? It is, of course, concerned mainly with *translations of German literature* into other languages, but the question may still be asked.

The only award to be made this year was *the Hieronymus-Ring, or Ring of St* Jerome, endowed in 1979 jointly by the translators and by Rowohlt, the Hamburg publishers.

It is awarded every three years and does *not* include a cash provision. It first went to Susanna Brenner-Rademacher, who died in 1980 and was unable to hand it over to her successor.

He is Kai Molvig, whom Heinrich Maria Ledig-Rowohlt, his publisher, called a particularly quiet translator, although he had translated a number of strident books.

They include *Last Exit to Brooklyn*, by Hubert Selby, and *Fear of Flying*, by Erica Jong.

Herr Rowohlt said Molvig was extremely sensitive, quick to appreciate a *point* and keen *in his power of observa*tion. He was unable for health reasons to attend personally.

His work has for the most part been translations from American English, including novels by Philip Roth, John Updike and Terry Southern.

The other reason why so few seminars were held at Bergneustadt this year was that many translators are inclined to go into greater detail on individual aspects of translation.

They are problems that arise from the language into which they translate, German, rather than from the language from which they translate.

Working parties met to review two such topics, idioms and the subjunctive. Both subjects were chaired by linguists and introductory papers read.

Hans Schemann, from Stuttgart, gave *a paper entitled Idioms as an Attraction* and a Difficulty in Translation. It dealt with expressions that said one thing and meant another.

They called for a special kind of translation, mediating between reality and language, that was a particular challenge to the translator as a mediator.

They also provided an opportunity of keeping one's own language flexible and of enriching it.

He supplied a glossary, with comments, on expressions used for the concept of dying. It was most illuminating.

Karl-Heinz Bausch, from Mannheim, dealt with The Subjunctive as a Stylistic Feature. His starting point was the discrepancy between theory and practice.

He showed that forms of the subjunc*tive still extant in German today* disproved the claims linguists made, especially in respect of the use of the conditional instead of the subjunctive.

His conclusion was that everyone drew up his own rules that differed from grammatical requirements not only in the spoken but also in the written language.

They also often differed from the explanations the user of these individual rules gave to outline how they worked.

Klaus Birkenhauer dealt with reference facilities in Straelen, where the European Translators' College already has *useful sections for the smaller languages.*

The reference section is particularly strong on German and Russian, and somewhat more surprisingly well stocked *with reference material* for Swedish, Polish and Finnish.

Two major bequest have greatly added to the library's stock. They are the libraries of writer Joseph Breitbach and translator Susanna Brenner-Rademacher.

The final event at this year's gathering was entitled The Author Meets His Translator — Translators Meet Their Author.

Writer Max von der Grün was the guest. He discussed with translators his book *What Was It Really Like? Childhood and Youth in the Third Reich.*

His translators into Dutch, Swedish, *English and Hungarian were supposed* to be present, but only Laszlo Jolesz, the Hungarian, turned up.

But the others' work was at least available, and short extracts were compared. No special translation problems came to light, just a few contemporary terms.

What was the translator to do with terms such as Hitler Youth or standard-bearer, translate them or leave them in German with a brief explanation?

Comparison of translations did, however, unearth sloppy German in von der Grün's original book, an illuminating mixture of autobiography and documentation.

The author links and contrasts his own life story with the history of the Third Reich.

Some translators left slovenly German in slovenly translation, others quietly put it right.

Self-critical translators at this year's *Esslingen talks said what they needed* most was a refresher courses in their own language. Maybe writers do too.

Andreas Rossmann

(Der Tagesspiegel, 10 December 1981)

A fresh look at the truth and the lie of life

We mostly tell lies about ourselves. *Fact is so absurd is often needs to* be helped along by a little fiction. The artist's role in giving meaning to life can prove his undoing.

The writer Wolfgang Hildesheimer, 65, takes a fresh look at the eternal contradiction between fact and fiction, between the truth and the lie of life.

Hildesheimer, who now lives in Switzerland, achieved a major international breakthrough with his 1977 biography of Mozart.

His *Mozart* was a legend-killer. It impressively outlined the nature of the artist and the risks he runs.

But Hildesheimer does not really believe he can transpose himself into someone who lived in the past. His biographies are fictitious; what he has to *say refers to the present.*

Marbot, his latest book, is a serious biography of a contemporary of Goethe's Hildesheimer has chosen to invent; it is also a criticism of today's pseudo-artists.

The true artist, he writes, portrays his own nature, and the true biographer is chosen by his hero.

Hildesheimer's masterly images of life



Wolfgang Hildesheimer . . . aims to stimulate not satisfy.(Photo: IP/Suhrkamp Verlag)

are not intended to satisfy our curiosity but to stimulate us into thoroughly reconsidering out existence and our relationship with the arts.

Hildesheimer, who was awarded the *1966 Büchner Prize*, was born in Hamburg. His father was a chemist who was obliged, as a Jew, to emigrate. So from 1933 to 1936 he worked as a joiner in Palestine.

He travelled widely. In 1937 he attended a course on theatre set design in Salzburg. He toured Brittany, Cornwall and Switzerland.

From 1939 to 1945 he served as a British information officer in Palestine. He also wrote art reviews and exhibited pictures and collages of his own.

From 1946 to 1949 he worked as an interpreter at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. He resumed German nationality and settled as a painter in Bavaria.

So his life has been adventurous and overtaken by events nearly all the time. *Hildesheimer sought refuge in ironic detachment.*

On a cold day in February it was too cold in his studio, he says with a wink, so he switched to writing short stories. They sold like hot cakes to the newspapers.

They appeared as *Loveless Legends* in 1952, a collection of amusing and mali-

RHEINISCHE POST

cious tales of the intellectual and artistic world.

In this first published book Hildesheimer already used his technique of including invented biographical and autobiographical details.

A year later it was joined by *Paradise of False Birds, a satirical novel. He made* a wider reputation with his 1955 radio play *Princess Turandot*, an intriguing parable of power and powerlessness.

It won him the war blind radio play prize and a stage version put on by Gustaf Gründgens in Düsseldorf, renamed *The Dragon's Throne.*

One- and two-act plays with a tendency towards the absurd were published as *Games In Which It Grows Dark* in 1958. They were fairly successful, as was his play *The Delay*. But Hildesheimer was not to become a major playwright.

His 1965 novel *Tynset*, the minutes of a sleepless night, earned him an enviable reputation. In the recollections, hopes and anxieties of this one night he *succeeds in outlining an entire life.*

It is an exercise in self-questioning as a kind of criticism of the age, biography as current affairs.

His *1973* novel *Mesante also contains* disguised elements of self-observation based on an elaborate mixture of recollection and reflection.

Mozart, a bestseller, tells the exemplary tale of a free artist. The importance of Mozart, arguably the greatest genius of known history, went unnoticed by his contemporaries.

Mozart is said to have been an undeserved present to mankind, a unique natural work of art, although he differs from previous biographers in allowing that Mozart was both a genius and a man.

Hildesheimer did not fully expound how he saw the artist until his latest novel, *Marbot*, which deals with a totally imaginary historical figure.

Sir Andrew Marbot is a contemporary of Goethe's and Schopenhauer's. He drws up an aesthetic approach along psychoanalytical lines.

The artist, he says, would be terrified if he were able to see through the motives that prompted him to work. The artist is incapable of feeling at home in the world and continually in jeopardy, a truly pathological case.

Young *Sir* Andrew, a man given to melancholy, goes into the work of art as the dictate of the unconscious impulses of its creator.

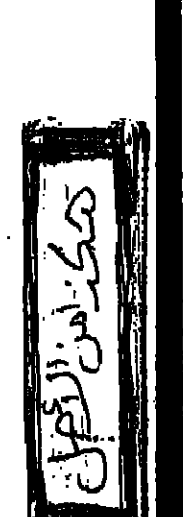
He comes close to the soul of the creative but, like all connoisseurs of art, is not himself creative.

He was able to go into the artist's psyche and its influence on choice of subject matter, imagery and composition, but the the basic secret of art re*mained a mystery to him.*

According to Hildesheimer it is a relationship between will and ability, between experience and the processing of experience. It can only be experienced by someone who has his own inimitable oeuvre.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Rheinische Post, 9 December 1981)



■ THE CINEMA

Film festival faces closure as public shows it prefers to watch TV

So few people bothered to turn out for this year's Würzburg film weekend that the event might not be held again.

The organising committee wants financial support from the city of Würzburg. Otherwise, in the words of one member, "we've reached the end of the road."

The festival has never been a box-office success. But this year was worse than ever.

One of the organisers said: "If we were to show film versions of works of literature, we could dig up the oldest films and always be sure of a full house".

A full house here means 410 seats.

On offer this year were eight Yugoslav films three Italian, two French and four German.

None had enough public appeal, admitted the organisers.

They want the city of Würzburg to hand out more cash.

Norbert Westenrieder is the inspiration behind the festival and himself a film-maker.

He says that this sort of festival needs about 10 years to become established.

"Unless the city gives us a hand now and helps us weather the next two years, we will have reached the end of the road," he says.

The annual cost is between DM25,000 and DM30,000, but the city's contribution had been little, apart from a few, encouraging words in the programme by the mayor.

Westenrieder says: "Three or four sold-out performances would be enough to put us back on our feet financially."

This year's programme was certainly luckless. There were eight Yugoslav films — most very recent — plus three films by the Italian director Gillo Pontecorvo and two by the Frenchman Jean-Louis Comolli.

This was augmented by three films by young German directors — if Tabori's *Frohes Fest* (Happy Holiday) can be included in this category — and one of the rarities of the early days of cinema.

Almost all directors, except Tabori and a few Yugoslavs, attended the festival to discuss their works with the viewers. This close contact between film makers and aficionados is one of the specialities of the Würzburg weekend.

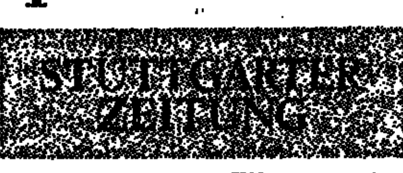
Concentrating on one country or a review of the works of a single director has proved effective until now.

In its initial years, the privately organised festival placed its emphasis on young German directors, among them Wim Wenders, Werner Herzog and George Moorse.

Then there was the much noted weekend presenting Polish directors such as Krzysztof Zanussi, Antoni Krauze, Kazimierz Kurtz and Janusz Morgentau whose works have since caused controversy on television.

In 1978, it was the Frenchman René Allio who came to Würzburg, followed in 1979 by the celebrated Italian brothers Taviani. Last year it was Maurice Pialat, whom the International Film Guide 1982 elected one of the "five directors of the year."

So the Würzburg organisers have always had a good nose. But what use is a good nose when the Würzburg public



prefers to stare at the TV screen rather than sit in a comfortable cinema chair — this is particularly so when the film version of a work of literature is being televised.

Yugoslav cinema is still seen as concentrating on the liberation struggle, with much melancholy drama, or on folklore comedies that do not go down in this country. This may not be a justified attitude.

But in the past few years, a kind of "author's film" has emerged in Yugoslavia; and its eight to ten productions a year now play a major role in Yugoslavia's film industry.

Most of these films deal critically with the past or the present and try to get away from the monumental or comical approach of the early days.

"30 to 40 of the films made in the past ten years are of international standard," says Vratoslav Mimica, one of Yugoslavia's elder film makers whose historic parable "The Falcon" (1980) was shown in Würzburg this year.

Parables are very popular in Yugoslavia — perhaps because explosive topical subjects can thus be defused or perhaps because Yugoslav film makers are reluctant to touch on certain (imagined?) taboos.

"The author's film is absolutely free; but there is a certain unconscious self-censorship at work in the author's mind. Perhaps this is a problem that applies to any society or individual," says Mimica.

The organisers did not seize upon their star guest Gillo Pontecorvo until the very last moment — and even then more out of necessity than choice.

Originally, they wanted to show Bertolucci; who was actually prepared to come because the Würzburg festival has a considerable attraction for film makers. They can discuss their work with the public and so test the response of those who ultimately matter.

But his producer opposed Bertolucci's going to Würzburg because this would not have fitted into the concept of a public relations tour he had in mind. In terms of public relations, Würzburg has never been particularly productive.

Bertolucci declined the invitation four weeks before the festival opened and the organisers had to start searching for a replacement. They wanted another Italian and somebody who had made a name for himself with polit-thrillers.

So they thought of Pontecorvo — a lively and witty conversationalist who has made only five films in his 20-year career.

He says: "One of my weaknesses is that I have too many scruples and never manage to bring an uncertain idea to fruition.")

In the end, the organisers decided to show a Pontecorvo retrospective.

But this is where the problems began. It was impossible to find a copy of the first full-length Pontecorvo film *La grande strada azzurra* (1958) nor was there a copy of *Kapo* (1960) to be found. This film depicts the uprising of concentration camp inmates in the Third Reich.

The Battle of Algiers (1966), which was awarded the Golden Lion at Venice and an Oscar, was shown in such poor technical quality as to make it impossible to know which peculiarities of the photography were attributable to the dilapidated copy and which were intentional.

Although a dubbed German version of *Operazione Ogro* (1979) was available, the distributors were only prepared to provide the original Italian version.

Only *Queimada* (1969) was screened in favourable conditions though in a very late show.

Pontecorvo is particularly interested in man's suffering and his desperate struggle for freedom and human dignity. As a result, he has of necessity picked on political subjects time and again.

Though the polit-thriller genre has a long tradition in Italy, nobody sticks so close to reality and gives so little scope to fantasy as Pontecorvo.

All his films revolve around the struggle of a poeple for independence, terror and counter-terror, the uprising of the masses and frequently around the resistance of the individual or the legality and perversion of power.

In his *Battle of Algiers*, an epic of the Algerian freedom struggle that is still topical, Pontecorvo strives for a "symphonic structure of sound and picture."

Some of the photography resembles newsreel pictures. The director says this is deliberate. Some crowd scenes are reminiscent of Eisenstein films and there is a constant change of rhythm.

The music, composed and selected by Ennio Morricone and Pontecorvo, distorts scenes of brutality and dramatises visually quiet sequences, conveying the pulsating life of individual settings.

This film in particular shows the great

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In search of something – somewhere

There is a conspicuous darkness in the photography from the very beginning, and the cool, greyish-blue air over Berlin makes the viewer shiver.

The very streets and rows of houses make an unhealthy, sickly impression. It is not surprising that the people who live in the city get sick.

This is the underlying idea of Helma Sanders-Brahms, who bases her latest film, *Die Berührte* (The Touched One) on the notes of a schizophrenic woman. Without resorting to the detour via a firm script, she converts events into scenic impressions. The tools of expression shift from stylising to realism.

She probably hoped that this would lend her film an air of general applicability.

But can the destiny of an outsider ever lay claim to being applicable to mankind as a whole?

Can a woman whose psychological illness remains unexplained really shoulder the suffering of mankind?

Too little is said in the film about the woman's background and her life to date. Yet only this could serve as an explanation for her illness.

Suddenly she is seen aimlessly wandering through Berlin, a city without detectable quality of life. She does not come upon Samaritans who would lend a helping hand and make her well again.

Ultimately, she only meets with lack of understanding — at home, in the street and in hospital.

And when, understandably, she tries to escape from the mental institution, she is soon found and brought back. The vicious circle starts anew. This is no way of achieving a cure; but then, it is not a cure that Helma Sanders-Brahms' film tries to depict.

Instead, the director observes the women's wanderings through the city, the aimless encounters with men which the sick woman, a nymphomaniac, seeks.

She, who considers herself a chosen one, prefers old men, foreign workers and African asylum seekers living in slums and is an easy prey for followers of religious sects who shout their hallelujas.

The woman is constantly in search of something without knowing what.

In danger of committing suicide and rebellious, she tends towards exhibitionism. Occasionally, she also pounds the pavement as a prostitute, willing to regard every man as Jesus.

Helma Sanders-Brahms make the woman step out of her anonymity into the seedy side of the city where she is presented as an enchanted and frightened creature ... wounded and crazy.

But the film says nothing about how she became so.

Though her old and helpless parents are shown in their home as well-to-do people (there is something contrived about the fact that these scenes present the stock exchange quotations on radio as a contrast), there are no scenes depicting the woman's past. In other words the key to the young woman's psyche is missing.

What the film depicts is not a woman trying to understand her psychological disorder but mental illness as the ultimate symbol of an allegedly sick era.

But even here this is shown by outward appearances such as dilapidated facades, seamy streets or the pre-Christmas rush of a metropolis or isolated foreigners. All this is meant to demonstrate the decay of a society.

But this depressing outward plane of the film, which is interrupted and augmented time and again by pictures of nightmares, provides the backdrop for the woman's fearful life which Elisabeth Stepanek endows with an aura of desperate depression as well as vibrant euphoria despite the fact that the woman has been cast in a mould that permits virtually no leeway.

Yet it is here and in the photography of Tomas Mauch that the strength of this film lies — a film that has proved incapable of developing the imagery of illness. Instead, it has converted the forces of a sick imagination into symbolic reality.

So now Lothar Lambert's sick Beate in his *Alptraumfrau* (Nightmare Woman) is followed by Helma Sanders-Brahms' deranged Rita G.: Two authentic destinies, two destroyed lives.

The point is, that the untouched "touched one" also leaves many of the viewers untouched.

Volker Baer

(Der Tagesspiegel, 3 December 1981)

■ MEDICINE

New diabetes drug on the testbed



Bayer, the Leverkusen chemicals giant, is testing a new drug designed to relieve diabetes.

The drug, called acarbose, is an enzyme inhibitor. The company feels it could prove to be a major departure in treating the disease.

The three mainstays of treatment have long been a special diet, insulin and sulphonyl urea. Acarbose could be the No. 4.

These classic approaches may not have changed fundamentally, but they have been refined to cope better with what is a complex metabolic imbalance. Therapeutic methods have also been improved.

The aim of diabetes treatment is to reduce the patient's blood sugar count as nearly as possible to that of a normal healthy person.

This is the only way in which later complications in the capillary arteries can be prevented, complications that can often have a dramatic effect on eyes, kidneys and legs.

Yet treating diabetes is still often a problem and the results are frequently unsatisfactory.

There are many reasons why. They depend both on the seriousness of the complaint and on the patient's willingness to obey medical instructions.

Patients often fail to stick to the strict diet prescribed, and this is one problem the new Bayer drug may help to solve.

Acarbose inhibits alpha glucosidase, an enzyme that breaks down carbohydrates in the lining of the small intestine, reducing and slowing down glucose intake from food.

Carbohydrates in the food we eat are 80 to 90 per cent starch and saccharose, or cane sugar. As a rule about 250 grams of carbohydrates need to be broken down in the intestine daily.

Saccharose consists of two sugar molecules, starch of a much larger number. In the intestine they are broken down into glucose, which consists of a single molecule.

Only as glucose can they be assimilated by the blood and put to use by the body. Since acarbose inhibits the conversion process, correspondingly less glucose is fed to the blood.

Acarbose was discovered in a systematic search. It had long been known that enzyme inhibitors occur naturally in flora, fauna and micro-organisms.

Acarbose was identified in the Bayer laboratories from among the products of metabolism of the ray fungus as a particularly effective inhibitor of alpha glucosidase in the human intestine.

It is thus one of the many products secreted by micro-organisms; others include antibiotics. So one may reasonably hope to see more biochemically interesting agents hailing from this source.

Clinical tests carried out so far indicate that acarbose is useful both with patients who rely on insulin and with elderly diabetics.

The latter are not chronic cases who need insulin. They mere have to stick to a diet and take a course of sulphonyl urea treatment.

Acarbose, by reducing and delaying glucose intake, has the same effect as a strict diet, so it will help to offset the ill-effects of a diet partly ignored by an elderly patient.

It is not a substitute for a diet, but it may also intensify the effect of sulphonyl urea treatment and prevent or delay the need for insulin treatment.

Insulin diabetics, usually younger patients, frequently need less insulin when acarbose is also administered.

Another advantage is that sudden increases in blood sugar after meals are reduced in intensity, which is a must if after-effects later in life are to be avoided.

Initial findings indicate that the side-effects, while irksome, are not such as to necessitate abandoning a course of acarbose treatment.

They are due to the main effects of the substance. Carbohydrates that are not broken down in the small intestine find their way into the colon.

There they are broken down by bacteria into fatty acids, hydrogen and carbon dioxide.

The fatty acids are assimilated by the blood, thereby ensuring that carbohydrate energy does not go to waste. The hydrogen is exhaled via the lungs.

The carbon dioxide causes less pleasant side-effects such as flatulence and occasionally even diarrhoea.

Acarbose also seems to be effective in treating high blood fat counts. After a lengthy course of treatment the triglycerides in the blood decline in number, depending as they do on the supply of carbohydrates.

Research scientists are currently checking whether the drug might also be useful in treating overweight.

Angela Heck

(Die Welt, 5 December 1981)

Breakthrough in cot death research

Bochum scientists may have found the answer to cot death, the sudden asphyxia that kills 2,000 babies a year in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Physiologists, anatomists, mathematicians and engineers have joined forces at Bochum University to draw up a model to account for this fatal shortage of breath.

Their findings have been used at a Munich children's hospital to successfully treat a three-month-old baby.

Professor Marianne E. Schlaefke of Bochum, who has carried out experiments with laboratory animals since 1964, says central feelers in the brain check the acidity of the fluid surrounding the nerve cells.

She is also supervising the clinical trials in Munich and explains that the information gleaned in this way has a crucial effect on the night-time breathing cycle.

Some babies lack these feelers; others have theirs temporarily put out of action by minor ailments and slight fever.

In conjunction with engineers Profes-

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Once a harmless parasite – now a killer

Indiscriminate use of antimycotics is as bad as overprescribing antibiotics, an Erlangen medical congress has been told. A healthy balance of fungi and bacteria in the body is most important.

The struggle against germs had undergone a complete change, Ludwig Demling of Erlangen University Hospital told gastroenterologists from all over Germany.

Bacteria had been forced on to the defensive; fungi were now the problem. Long regarded as mainly harmless parasites, they were now proliferating into killer mycoses.

Latest research findings were outlined by staff of the department of parasitology and mycology at Freiburg University. They were alarming.

The healthy human body hosted millions of Fungus-like yeast cells in mouth, throat, stomach and intestine, but in a micro-ecological balance with millions of bacteria.

Micro-fungi gave rise to infections, but only when the opportunity arose, as in:

- vitiating basic illnesses such as chronic infections,
- metabolic disorders and impaired organic functions,
- and large-dose and long-term antibiotic therapy.

The Freiburg mycologists said these factors must be seen jointly, since doctors tended to prescribe antibiotics as a cure-all.

This particularly applied to the colon and to colonic infection by the candida and torolopsis fungi the colon hosts.

Drug manufacturers had developed medication to deal with internal mycoses, or cases of fungus poisoning, but doctors were far from happy with them.

Antimycotics had no fewer undesirable and often uncontrollable side-effects than antibiotics, of vital importance though they otherwise were.

Professor Demling warned from the chair against indiscriminate use of either. "We must not carry on shooting down infectious bacteria with antibiotics now we know for a fact that bacteria prevent fungi from proliferating," he said.

He felt the trend also affected malignant tumours, in other words cancer: "It too is treated with drugs that weaken or eject malignant cells but also lay the groundwork for infection.

"That is why patients who suffer from a malignant complaint ought, as in this case, also to be afforded protection from fungi running riot in the body."

He saw no difference of principle between internal and external environmental protection:

"When woods are felled, the climate changes. When body cells are bombarded, healthy cells are knocked out too, thereby changing the surroundings.

"Things may then happen that were not previously possible; of that there can be no doubt."

Nikolaus Freese

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 13 December 1981)

Contraception through diet control

An Aachen research team is developing a method of birth control involving diet.

The researchers think that contraception by this method, avoiding certain foods, might even be acceptable to the Vatican.

World Health Organisation officials are checking regularly, and with growing urgency, on the experiments.

Head of the team is anatomist Hans-Werner Denker.

Success would mean that he team had found a solution to one of the world's most pressing problems, population growth in the Third World.

Professor Denker and his associates have been probing a secret of procreation for the past 15 years. It is what makes a fertilised ovum settle down in the wall of the uterus.

Conversely, why is that it sometimes fails to do so and that some women are permanently sterile as a result?

In laboratory experiments with rabbits he has shown that enzymes control the process, special proteins that govern chemical reactions in the body, such as digestion.

There is a special enzyme in charge of each reaction. Aachen scientists have checked the process by which the ovum is found a home in the wall of the uterus.

If specific enzymes were inhibited, the process was aborted and the rabbits failed to become pregnant. "Enzymes ensure that nutrients are drawn off," Professor Denker explains.

The crucial discovery was that signal substances prompt the mother-to-be's body to prepare to host the fertilised ovum.

Unless the signal is given, the ovum will fail to take root because preparations have not been made by the body.

American scientists plan to synthesise blastolemmase, the enzyme that gives the body the tip-off, as discovered by Denker in Aachen, by genetic manipulation.

All methods of contraception so far known have their problems. They are either too unsafe or too complicated or affect the body's hormone balance (as, for intance, the Pill does).

The contraceptive pill is felt to be unsuitable for use in the overpopulated Third World countries because experience has shown that women with little education fail to grasp that it must be taken regularly to work.

If proteinase inhibitors successfully prevent the creation of the enzyme that makes it possible for the ovum to settle in the wall of the uterus, a new method of birth control without side-effects would have been devised.

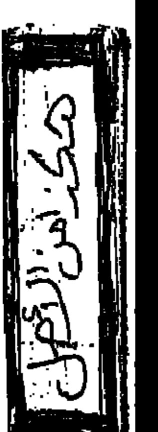
Contraception by means of a specific diet steering clear of certain foodstuffs is a method that might even be acceptable to the Vatican.

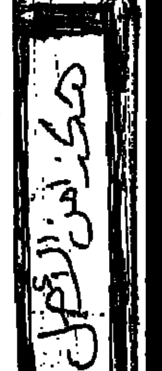
Research urgently needs to be intensified, but funds are strictly limited. "We are only getting 50 per cent of the allocations applied for," says Professor Denker.

Further laboratory experiments were due to be carried out with monkeys in Aachen, but for the time being research has ground to a halt for lack of funds.

Horst Zimmermann

(Bremer Nachrichten, 3 December 1981)





■ **CHILDREN**

Illicit trade eases way for parents to abandon adopted babies

Babies illegally adopted from the Third World are being abandoned in increasing numbers like unwanted pets by rogue German foster parents.

By one estimate about 1,000 babies a year are smuggled into the Federal Republic, mainly from Sri Lanka, India and South American countries.

The problem stems from insufficient supply in Germany: about 19,000 couples are in the market for about 10,000 babies.

So a Third World baby is an answer. But the parents often end up dealing with unregistered agencies.

This means that:

- Children can be obtained with a minimum of paperwork
- Checks on parents are often superficial.

And the result is that more and more parents are simply changing their minds about the adopted child once the initial enthusiasm has worn off.

The authorities say the under-the-counter traffic is increasing.

One example is given by Pro Infante, a children's society.

A three-year-old girl from Sri Lanka deposited at their office in Kempen, Rhineland, had been smuggled without adoption papers into south Germany 10 months before.

She did not officially exist in Germany. She was registered neither at the local authority youth office nor at the civil registration office.

The girl's German "father" brought her to the office and asked if Pro Infante could ship her back home.

His curt explanation was that the couple was just "not getting on" with the child.

The Kempen office can quote five similar stories this year.

To begin with says Pro Infante, the children delight their unofficial foster-parents. Then the morning-after feeling sets in and the couple start to feel that maybe they have made a mistake.

The GZA, or joint central adoption service for north Germany, in Hamburg, was beset for a while by a trio of South American children whose temporary parents had tired of them after a mere three months.

In Flensburg a Korean child found a new home in a school-cum-children's home after a short stay with a German family.

How do these hapless children from all over the world get to Germany in the first place and why is it there are so many of them that the Family Affairs Ministry in Bonn has considered legislation to stem the tide?

During the post-war baby boom, which peaked in the 60s, German couples had their hands full with children of their own.

Since the advent of the contraceptive Pill and legal abortion babies have been fewer and further between.

After complicated tests to single out suitable applicants, and a wait of three to five years, parents often end up with a problem child that needs intensive educational care.

So many couples who would like to adopt a baby are taken by the idea of taking a tiny tot from the Third World. They end up dealing with unregistered agencies.



Pro Infante, Terre des Hommes and the International Social Service in Frankfurt feel adopting foreign children is a makeshift solution at best.

Their aim is to find parents for children, not the other way round, and they feel their first concern must be to solve domestic problems as well as they can.

When a foreign baby is officially imported, as it were, its parents are first given a thorough check by the German authorities.

They have to fill in a questionnaire explaining why they want to adopt the child. The youth and health authorities check the family and its health.

The couple have to submit a police certificate of good conduct, thereby proving they do not have a criminal record. They are finally interviewed by a psychologist.

Once they have taken delivery of their child they have to register it with the authorities and then adopt it in accordance with German law.

Maybe it's because of the complicated procedures. Maybe it's because there is such a long wait. Maybe it's because there is a risk of not being given permission to adopt a child at all.

Whatever the reason, many couples skip time-wasting inquiries in Kempen or Frankfurt and set about making private inquiries of their own.

For some years a variety of Dutch organisations have promised to deliver a child for adoption promptly.

They are no longer able to do so for clients in Holland because the Dutch Justice Minister now refuses to consent to children being flown in for adoption.

So they have switched their attention to would-be parents in neighbouring Germany. One such organisation is Flash, short for Foundation Life, Adoption, Service and Happiness, in Groenbeek.

Flash send on request a 12-page leaflet explaining that the children they supply for adoption are usually babies aged between a fortnight and two months from Sri Lanka.

They are most unlike the German authorities in not probing too deeply into the circumstances of the would-be parents. Not for a moment do they seem to be troubled by suspicions that would-be parents might be unsuitable.

They may insist on an adoption permit and youth department report being forwarded, but Flash generously agree not to insist on a personal interview if their clients cannot be bothered travelling to Holland.

The main country from which children are flown out is Indonesia, followed by Sri Lanka, where formalities are, as the term indicates, a mere formality.

The parents-to-be have to fly out and be interviewed by a commissioner, but Flash reassure clients that mere generalities are discussed.

About a fortnight later the court proceedings are held. They seldom take longer than a few minutes. The parents-to-be are than handed over the baby and its papers.

Clients are advised how important it is to make a good impression. Would they please pack a suit, shirt and tie and a good dress along with their bathing kit?

At the youth office and at court great store is set by your outward appearance, parents-to-be are reminded.

The whole procedure is combined with a swimming and sightseeing holiday lasting several weeks, in the course of which occasional visits are paid to the lawyer's to take a look at the baby.

Clients are reminded to take nappies and a bottle with them. To gain a little emotional experience of parenthood before the court hearing the baby can be bottle-fed and have its nappy changed at the lawyer's office.

But they must please not overdo the procedure. Adoption is a sensitive topic in the Third World, where children are not willingly handed over to parents from other countries.

Flash explains that clients, if they happen to be asked what they are doing in the country, would be well advised just to say they are tourists.

The entire procedure is said to cost up to DM18,000 and the word profit is gingerly mentioned in a bid to disarm doubters.

Clients are assured that any profits are ploughed back into the many children's homes in Sri Lanka and other developing countries.

The German authorities are unmoved by the prices Dutch agencies charge. What worries them is the way in which German adoption regulations are flouted.

The result is that parents who tire of their adopted children can send them back with virtual impunity.

There is no procedure by which legal adoptions in other countries can be legalised in Germany, so Flash recommend clients to check with their local registrar of births, marriages and deaths whether their adoption can be acknowledged.

If not, would they please start adoption proceedings? Not many do. The authorities often first get to know of the children's existence when they are no longer a wanted baby, just a problem child.

Often the would-be parents who use the services of a Dutch agency have been rejected by the German authorities as suitable foster-parents.

By and large, Flash write, everyone who has the necessary paperwork and is under 40 is qualified to bring up children.

But despite initial good will many families feel overtaxed by the needs and requirements of the children with which they have suddenly been confronted and left to their own devices to cope with.

The most convenient solution from their point of view is to return the child.

Rush them to doctor, urges agency

Another problem is the health hazard. Flash advise parents-to-be to have their babies checked for infectious diseases when they get back home.

But by the time they get to a doctor's surgery in Germany it may be too late. One little girl from Sri Lanka, for instance, died only a fortnight after arriving in Hamburg. She was suffering from a tropical disease.

An Indian boy gave all five children of his new parents jaundice. A two-and-a-half-year-old Filipino boy was found on arriving in Germany to be deaf. A Nepalese girl was suddenly found to have polio.

What is one to do about a trade such as this which has got out of hand? There has been no shortage of proposals but action has yet to be taken.

The German authorities and adoption societies are thinking in terms of bilateral agreements with the countries concerned. Adoption proceedings would only be allowed to go ahead in the country of origin provided a German certificate was submitted to prove the would-be parents were suitable.

Another option would be to check babies when they enter the country, as is done in Holland, and to arrange a legal facility in Germany for adoption arrangements abroad to be legalised here.

The Family Affairs Ministry in Bonn agrees that procedures must be brought under control so as to protect both parents and children.

Antje Huber, the Minister, is not sure what necessary legal steps must be taken. All she has done so far is to consult with the Justice Minister to see what his view of the adoption problem is.

He too feels a solution must be found, so next year there will at least be talks about a possible amendment to the Adoption Act.

Petra Pluwatsch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 9 December 1981)

Cot death breakthrough

Continued from page 13

sor Schlaefke has developed a device that can be used to teach infants to breathe while asleep.

This objective can only be achieved provided the body learns to respond to acid signals. So the device feeds a supply of carbonic acid into the baby's oesophagus in the desired respiratory rhythm.

In problem cases this alone will not induce respiration. Breathing is brought about by a slight breath of fresh air that is directed at the sleeping baby without waking it.

Once nocturnal respiration training has succeeded, the breath of fresh air can be stopped, since the body now responds to the carbonic acid by inhaling.

Baby has then learnt how to breathe in its sleep, which it was previously unable to do.

This is because the acid count around its nerve cells is now measured and breathing can, as a result, be controlled normally.

Professor Schlaefke feels the successful trials with the Munich baby, which is shortly to be followed by four more in Munich and Essen, prove that a cure may be found in all cases before long.

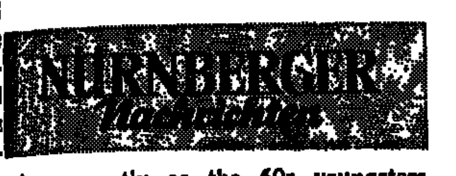
It is not yet clear how long babies take to learn nocturnal respiration by the new method, but initial results indicate that training must begin as soon as possible after birth and last several months at least.

Thomas Brey

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 November 1981)

■ **SOCIETY**

There's no running away from it – it's poriomania



As recently as the 60s youngsters who ran away from home were felt to be motivated by an irresistible wanderlust. The term poriomania was coined.

Nowadays, Jordan and Trauernicht write in *Ausreisser und Trebegänger*, (Absconders and Runaways), published by Juventa Verlag, Munich, this theory is dismissed as outdated.

Whatever the motives, the problem is a serious one. No-one knows the exact number of young people on the run; between 40,000 and 100,000 are reported missing at any one time.

Experts reckon there must be about 5,000 permanent runaways, including many girls. What makes children and juveniles leave home and live in a half-world between prostitution and crime?

The wanderlust is no longer felt to be prompted by the smell of a wood fire or a sudden childhood memory. Sociologists now attribute it to a disturbed relationship with one's environment.

They see cramped conditions at home, tension in the family or difficulties at school setting up an atmosphere juveniles feel is so threatening and unbearable that running away is the only answer.

"At home with my parents I was five," says one 17-year-old girl runaway. "My father was always quarreling with my mother and left for Italy. He wanted to get away from it all.

"My mother already had another man-friend. There was another child too, my kid sister. She was one year old. There sure were some quarrels in the family in those days!

"My mother kept having different men-friends. Then I was sent to my granny's. But I only stayed with her six months, then it was back to my mother.

"She used to lock me in for days on end, tying me to the bedpost and not coming back for days and nights."

Small wonder she decided to quit. But most runaways clear out of children's homes. They are disappointed with the loveless way in which they are merely administered there.

The most frequent motives that prompt them to decamp are fear of being transferred to another home, the search for nearness and a feeling of belonging to someone or simple fear of other kids in the home.

"At St Martin's," another 17-year-old girl says, "I was put with the reception group. They took away my handbag with my cigarettes, pictures of boys, letters, cigarette lighter, sewing kit and glue.

"I had to sign for everything, then it was all locked away. It was lights out at nine, and the doors were locked; even the keyholes were shuttered from inside.

"So were the windows. If you had to go to the toilet there was a pot under the bed, and a roll of toilet paper.

To this day social workers who deal with youngsters like these have nothing to offer but helplessness and the use of force. Runaways are returned to their families or homes once caught.

Children from nominally intact families, from established homes or from boarding schools are classified merely as difficult or down and out.

In many cases parents underwrite their children's lives in the runaway's world. They give them money to avoid the children getting a criminal record, provide them with other things to do or put them into expensive boarding schools.

But the overwhelming majority of runaways from the less privileged classes end up in homes for juvenile delinquents that are little more than dossing houses.

The youngsters may be cared for but they are also, for the most part locked in. In circumstances such as these social work is virtually impossible.

"They sent me to this youth care centre. I was a week there. Wasn't bad. Mind you, you had to sit in all day, behind bars. There was no way of breaking out; I tried hard enough.

"But you had to wear pyjamas all day, weren't allowed to wear anything else. You hadn't got anything else to wear anyway. They took everything off you, absolutely everything."

Attempts to provide homeless runaways with more than virtual prisons have frequently failed. Plans to house stranded youngsters in open homes or shared apartments for long-term care and attention proved too much for both social workers and their charges.

Yet the situation has improved substantially in many places in recent years. A voluntary service in West Berlin has helped a fair number of youngsters by showing confidence in them.

They are given an opportunity of making use of their rights (material assistance, time for talks and information, welfare).

They are allowed to make decisions and moves of their own and offered practice at running their own affairs, cooperation and solidarity. They are also told what opportunities there are of gaining educational and vocational qualifications.

Reintegrating runaways without destroying them psychosomatically calls for intensive personal care in each individual case.

It needs ample funds, well-trained social workers, an informed and impartial public opinion and courts that realise youngsters in this position cannot be brought back into the mainstream of society by a short, sharp shock.

Thilo Castner

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 5 December 1981)

Film festival

Continued from page 12

importance Pontecorvo attributes to the music in his movies.

He says: "As I drive to the studio in the morning I am frequently plagued by doubts about how to continue my work. But once I have a melody in my head everything goes easier, the camera angles, the scenes and everything else."

Pontecorvo's last film, *Operazione Ogro*, concentrates on the Basque freedom movement and the spectacular attack on Luis Carrero Blanco in December 1973.

Pontecorvo does not restrict himself to suspenseful reporting of historic facts. He delves deeply into the question as to the justification of terror in general. The showing of the film in Spain provoked a spate of bomb threats.

As usual, the organisers presented some highly explosive films.

But this still did little for the box office.

Eva-Suzanne Bayer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 December 1981)

How to cope in 40 easy lessons

"Charge it to my credit account, says a 14-year-old girl grandly to a classmate at school in Hildesheim, near Hanover.

He is playing shop assistant. She is supposed to be buying from him a pullover worth DM79.90. It is part of the lesson on consumer behaviour and handling money.

The aim of the course, the first of its kind at a German school, is to check whether a start can be made at preventing crime at school.

"Deviant behaviour that may lead to crime is often due to inability to handle ans solve conflicts and problems," says educationalist Hedwig Lerchenmüller.

"This programme of social learning is intended to prevent and eliminate such deficits in socialisation before it comes to crime."

The basic idea behind the programme was devised, and the course is supervised, by the Lower Saxon Criminological Research Institute.

The course consists of 40 lessons. It entails three specially trained educationalists working alongside the regular school teachers in practising what, for youngsters of 14, are typical everyday situations.

The research institute is funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

The situations acted out range from arguments with others of their age to relations with adults and the repercussions of a criminal offence, in this case shoplifting.

The mass media play an important part in the young people's lives. More than 8 out of 10 said at the beginning of the project that watching TV was one of their favourite activities.

Films on TV, Frau Lerchenmüller said, tended to glorify aggression as a means of solving conflicts. The media also encouraged youngsters to consume, including drugs.

So it had been decided to pay special attention to the role of the media in the course.

Another aim is to show students how prejudice against minorities and the underprivileged occur. With so many migrant workers' children at German schools this was felt to be an important point.

The parts to be played are in short stories, radio plays, picture stories and video films. By acting them out, young people will, it is hoped, learn how to handle conflicts themselves.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 December 1981)

Not so good in the good old days

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The good old days of the extended family were not so good after all, Leopold Rosenmayr, a Vienna University sociologist, has told a Hamburg gathering on Perspectives of Ageing.

Modern research, Professor Rosenmayr said, has conclusively refuted the idea that in the good old days grandparents lived in harmony with the rest of the family.

Old people usually lived separately from the young, with countless disputes coming before the courts.

Grandfathers often embarked on litigation over the right to use the main entrance to the farm rather than the tradesmen's entrance.

Or they sued their progeny for the right to carry out a certain kind of work.

Old and young still do not live together as a rule, but in 60 to 70 per cent of cases they can reach and help each other when the need arises.

Hackneyed cliches of the harmonious extended family of old, with not a single clash between the generations, seemed to be as ineradicable as cliches about the modern family.

It was just not true that modern families invariably consigned their old folk to old people's homes and hospitals, said Hamburg psychiatrist Jens Bruder.

There was an ongoing trend to caring for old people within the family. Sickness too was seldom a reason for breaking up larger family units and sending the old folk packing, a survey in Norderstedt, near Hamburg, showed.

Professor Rosenmayr noted that fresh problems lurked behind this otherwise encouraging trend.

The burden of looking after older members of the family weighed mainly on the older housewife and could well do so at the entire family's expense.

That was why state and society had a duty to ease the burden women bore. Professor Rosenmayr called for welfare service support to help granny go to the doctor's when mum was unable to go along with her.

Women of 40 or so must not become the slaves of the family, he said, although they often were just that these days.

Tax incentives to look after the elderly ought also be extended, just as it was fiscally rewarding to bring up children.

Herta Just of Hamburg Old People's Council took a dim view of shared apartments for the old. She was critical of the attitude taken by many doctors towards their older patients.

Doctors had too little time, patients were seldom visited in their own homes these days. Often doctors were just not competent to deal with the problem, given that 60 to 70 per cent of illnesses in old age were not just physical.

It was not enough to go to the usual specialist. Gerontological research findings needed to be put more into practice.

The gathering agreed wholeheartedly with what Frau Just had to say. Two thousand doctors from Hamburg and environs were invited; only 150 or so attended.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 December 1981)